AN EXPLORATION OF TAIWANESE ADOLESCENT CROSS-STRAIT TRANSMIGRATION, EDUCATION, AND IDENTIFICATION

Hsiang-ning Wang

Submitted to the faculty of the University Graduate School in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree

Doctor of Philosophy

in the School of Education, Indiana University

February 2015

Accepted by the Graduate Faculty, Indiana University, in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy.

Doctoral Committee

_____
Chair, Heidi Ross, Ph.D.

_____
Bradley Levinson, Ph.D.

_____
Sara Friedman, Ph.D.

_____
Patricia McManus, Ph.D.

February 3, 2015

To my most beloved father.

Acknowledgements

I would like to express my deep and sincere gratitude to the many people who have kindly helped and supported me along this journey to obtain my doctorate. First of all, I am truly indebted to my advisor, Dr. Heidi Ross, for her invaluable mentorship and remarkable support. She has been the best role model for me, both academically and personally. She has shown me how to be a passionate and conscientious researcher, and also how to be a good educator, caring for, being patient with, and always believing in her students. Most importantly, she has shown me how to be a positive person, to love people around us with our hearts, and to love the life that we live only once. I hope that I can be as inspiring and supportive a teacher as Heidi to my future students. I also want to thank Dr. Sara Friedman for all the support and guidance she has given me during these years. I cannot count the number of days and nights that she opened her door to me in my highs and lows. I will always appreciate all the encouragement that she and her family have given me. These two intelligent and strong female professors have not only guided me academically, but have also inspired me with their wisdom. Additionally, I would like to thank Dr. Bradley Levinson and Dr. Patricia McManus for their patience with and support of my dissertation writing process. I could not complete this dissertation without the great help of all of these wonderful committee members.

On this long road, incredible friendship has accompanied me through many ups and downs. I particularly want to thank Ching-hui Chang and Jui-lin Tai, two friends in Taiwan who are always accessible to me, love me unconditionally, and persistently encourage me. I would like to give special thanks to all of my roommates in Bloomington who have become sisters in life, Fanfei Tai, Ting-fang Hsu, and Yun Chang, for their accommodation of my good and bad times, and for sharing laughter and tears with me. I would also like to express my appreciation to Ke Li,

Ming-chu Hsu, Chia-wen Chang, and Sharalyn Featherstone for walking with me on this long path. Without the strong support given by these friends, I could not overcome the many challenges in my life during this long period of doctoral research.

I would also like to extend my thanks to all the people who have generously helped me in China during my year of fieldwork, particularly to those young souls who I met throughout the year. I thank them for sharing their lives with me, which has inspired me to continue my academic work and also to rethink of my own life. Special thanks go to Justin Lai, Jessica Chang and Vince Fang, whose optimism and energy made the year unforgettable, and their encouragement has kept me moving forward.

Finally, I want to thank my family, particularly my mother and also my godmother, Hsiu-ling Chen, for their great patience and understanding of the difficulties I had on my doctoral journey, and for their continuous support all the way up to the completion of my dissertation. Also, I would like to deeply thank both my sisters for taking care of our parents while I was away from home for years.

This dissertation is sincerely dedicated to one of the most important people in my life, Andy Lu, who passed away in 2008, and also to my most beloved father who passed away in 2012. Both of them will live in my heart forever.

Hsiang-ning Wang

AN EXPLORATION OF TAIWANESE ADOLESCENT CROSS-STRAIT TRANSMIGRATION, EDUCATION, AND IDENTIFICATION

This dissertation explores the identification of Taiwanese adolescents with Taiwan and/or China as a process and outcome of cross-Strait transmigration. Given their explicit or implicit identification with Taiwan, and their need to accommodate Chinese social norms, transmigrant youth are identified as "third culture kids," not belonging fully to either culture but to an in-between status and location that they have been forced to negotiate. From political, societal, and cultural perspectives, this dissertation analyzes how identity is legitimized, contested, and negotiated through the dynamic interplay among institutional sources of power such as the state and schools, public discourses on cross-Strait relations, social interactions among individuals, and individual subjectivity. Drawing on data from a one-year multi-sited ethnographic study in both Mainland China and Taiwan, this dissertation reveals the lived experiences of Taiwanese transmigrant youth by addressing political and ideological challenges, disparity of social norms and status, and cultural challenges and opportunities they encounter in their large social and educational ecology composed of family, school, community, and cross-Strait societies. The daily identification practices and performances of these young Taiwanese transmigrants shape an integrated and collective Taiwanese identity closely connected to a strong awareness of and response to cultural, political and normative differences between themselves and the Chinese they come to know and interact with on the Mainland; their respect for their host country is generally limited to its economic power. Transmigrant youths show diverse individual differences in their identification with Taiwan and China as seen in their selective assimilation, accommodation, and resistance, which are unsettled and changing. The complexities behind their identification with Taiwan are reflected in their shifting use of languages and behaviors based on

varied circumstances that can be characterized as expressions of political defensive identity, differentiated identity, coexisting romanticized and pragmatic identity, class identity, and youth culture identity.

Doctoral Committee

_____
Chair, Heidi Ross, Ph.D.

_____
Bradley Levinson, Ph.D.

_____
Sara Friedman, Ph.D.

_____
Patricia McManus, Ph.D.

Table of Contents

List of Tables

List of Figures

Chapter 1: Introduction

Global migration during the late twentieth and early twenty-first centuries has cast a spotlight on the concept and lived experience of "identity," drawing the attention of scholars from multiple disciplines. Examining identity in the context of rapidly increasing migration between China and Taiwan raises particularly thorny issues for scholarship and allegiance, precisely because research on the concept of identity intertwines with contentious arguments about society, culture, and politics across the Taiwan Strait. This study examines Taiwanese adolescents' personal and group identification as a process and outcome of cross-strait transmigration. It argues that identity can be critically analyzed through the lenses of politics, society, and culture as it is contested, negotiated, and legitimatized through the dynamic interplay among institutional sources of power such as the state and schools, public discourses on cross-Strait relations, and individual subjectivity.

Regardless of the territorial relations debated in history, with people from Mainland China starting to move to Taiwan in the 16th century, cross-Strait relationships had been substantively intensified until the late 1940s when the Chinese Nationalist Party (Kuomintang, KMT) was defeated by the Chinese Communist Party (CCP) and retreated to Taiwan. After forty years of severed relations, China and Taiwan have drastically increased bilateral communication and trade since the late 1980s; yet economic interdependence and social interaction have created political concerns, social anxiety, and unpredictable cultural impacts in both societies. Given that over one million Taiwan residents have traversed the Taiwan Strait to live in the Mainland, a great number of Taiwanese school-age children, following their parents to Mainland China for family reunion and education, have become the vanguards of new transnational productions.

This research is premised on the recognition of Taiwan as a sovereign nation-state wherein Taiwanese youth are regarded as "transmigrants," traversing geographic, political, and cultural borders and maintaining multi-layered relations with both their home and host societies (Smith, 1997; Vertovec, 1999) instead of sojourners with a temporary plan in their new land or immigrants who, uprooted from their motherland, tend to assimilate into their host society. During these cross-border movements, their identities, resistance, and loyalty toward two nation-states become a significant concern and source of competition on both sides of the Strait. Transmigrant youth must not only negotiate a sense of self that is Taiwanese or/and Chinese, but they are also required to choose or perform an identity in politically over-determined contexts. Even though the presence of a large population of Taiwanese school children in the Mainland is generally acknowledged in both societies, no official number of Taiwanese transmigrant children has been documented by either government due to high rates of mobility. While the Chinese government encourages primary school newcomers to attend local Chinese schools, Taiwanese youth at the secondary school level are more likely to choose to segregate from their Mainland peers. And while Taiwanese youth in the Mainland cannot be distinguished by appearance, they may "think and act differently" in various ways. For instance, my research reveals that they believe strongly in the value of a democratic society and societal openness with freedom of speech and religion, as well as behavioral norms of honesty and politeness, while admiring the economic power and related opportunities provided by the Mainland. Although these values which they carried from their home society can produce many challenges for their lives in the Mainland, their different viewpoints may have a longer-term impact on the people they interact with, such as their Chinese peers.

Three schooling options are available to the increasing number of Taiwanese youth who follow their parents across the Strait and into China: local Chinese schools, international schools, and Taiwanese businessmen's schools, which vary widely in curriculum, teacher and student composition, school activities and rituals, and administration. Three Taiwanese businessmen's schools located in the east coast of Mainland China, created for Taiwanese transmigrants since 2000, only recruit students from Taiwan but employ teachers from both Taiwan and China. In such schools, textbooks are imported from Taiwan, but any commentary or content deemed politically inappropriate or contentious are censored by the Chinese government. In contrast, local Chinese schools provide Taiwanese students with an intense curriculum and the expectation and opportunity of creating social networks with local Chinese people, both of which are regarded as cornerstones for their successful assimilation in their "new land." Yet transmigrant youths must confront different social norms and political ideologies in this environment, thus creating substantial challenges. International schools, charging extremely high tuition, offer English-language curricula and an international environment, but only Taiwanese students from wealthy families are able to take advantage of such schools, which also recruit Chinese students with foreign passports and other non-Chinese citizens. Outside the schools, Taiwanese youths live in various types of communities; those with an exclusive Taiwanese population, local Chinese communities, and communities characterized by a mix of both foreigners and wealthy Chinese residents. These schools and communities provide young Taiwanese transmigrants with different educational and social integration opportunities, exposing them to diverse political and social discourses.

This study depicts how Taiwanese transmigrant youth in adolescence develop divergent strategies to deal with political and ideological challenges, disparities in social norms, and

cultural conflicts that they encounter in the family, school, community and cross-Strait societies. These overlapping sites of conflict and accommodation together construct a broader educational and social ecology in which we can examine how youths construct and perform their identities in both insider and outsider groups through daily practices.

For the purposes of this study, identity is defined as a socially constructed, processional, and situational self-perceived sense of belonging (Appadurai, 1996; Bauman, 2000). Working from this definition, my analysis focuses on the processes of identification of young transmigrants. To construct a comprehensive understanding of these processes, the study is framed by and attempts to answer three sets of questions, conceptualized along a macro to micro scale (Brettell, 2003; Faist, 1997):

(1) Macro-level questions: How are ideologies legitimized and imposed on youth through the power of political, social, and in particular, educational structures across the Strait? For instance, how can Taiwan and the Mainland maintain and/or transform students' identities through the formation and implementation of their own separate educational policies? How do schools convey legitimized knowledge and ideologies to students through textbooks, pedagogies, and everyday rituals?

(2) Meso-level questions: How do young transmigrants form social networks through cross-Strait educational and social ecologies, and how do they accumulate social, cultural, and economic capitals, and intercultural skills through their transmigrant experiences that in turn influence their identities and futures? How are their identities (re)shaped by their interactions and negotiations with people in cross-Strait societies?

(3) Micro-level questions: How do young transmigrants perceive and practice political, societal, and cultural identities as they interact with ideologies conveyed through their

surrounding educational ecology and social networks? How do they perform situational identities differently in their various educational and social ecologies (in family, school, community and society) on both sides of the Strait?

An ethnographic approach is particularly compelling for studying migrants' lived experiences (Brettell, 2008; Vertovec, 1999), particularly for revealing how they construct social boundaries and perceive and practice their identities in their daily life activities and behaviors. The three sets of questions are answered through data collected during a multi-sited study conducted from August 2008 to July 2009 primarily in Mainland China, with supplemental fieldwork in Taiwan. Research subjects include Taiwanese transmigrants attending secondary school (age 12-17). To closely observe student participants' everyday lives during my 10-month fieldwork period in Mainland China (August 2008- June 2009), I selected one Taiwanese businessmen's school (Taishang School, August 2008 - June 2009) and one local Chinese school (Mingdao School, February 2009 - June 2009) as my primary research sites. Both schools are located in the greater Shanghai area, which accommodates the largest and most diverse concentration of Taiwanese in Mainland China. School-based ethnographic studies of schooling in China indicate that taking on a teaching role as an insider provides access to information not readily available to outsiders (Ross, 1993). The double roles that I served, both as a teacher and a researcher, enabled me to recruit my student participants and closely engage in their school lives and experiences outside of class. To better understand young people's wide range of cross-border experiences, I also recruited additional student subjects from other schools through a snowball approach.

Three primary methods were used to collect field data: in-depth individual interviews and semi-structured focus group interviews, participant observations (classroom and school observations, and cross-Strait family and community visits), and textbook content analyses. Interviewing Taiwanese transmigrant youths, my primary research subjects, about their transitional experiences studying and living across the Strait helped to establish a solid understanding of their transmigrant lives as they understood them. These interviews further enabled me to analyze their subjective perceptions and the (trans)formation of identity during the process of identification. While retrieving personal accounts was helpful in understanding their individual perceptions, I also interacted with them in their different living environments through classroom observations, community observations, and home visits, allowing me to further contextualize what I came to understand as their identification processes. These diverse participant observation opportunities allowed me to closely examine top-down ideological impositions, public discourse present in social spaces, and young transmigrants' bottom-up responses to those ideological messages and public discourses, as well as their daily practices of identity formation and adaptation. In addition, formal interviews and informal chats with the youths' parents, school teachers, and peers provided me with invaluable information about the (trans)formation processes of the Taiwanese youth from more distant or outsider viewpoints. Textbook content analysis served as another resource to better investigate various political ideologies embedded in and conveyed through schools as an influential factor during the formation of their identity, or a source(s) of identity. These research methodologies assisted me in the construction of a comprehensive understanding of the process of identification of young people across the Strait, and further enabled cross-checking of the validity of my findings and conclusions.

Structure of the Dissertation

Chapter 2 introduces three related bodies of literature: migration studies, identity studies from interdisciplinary perspectives, and so-called Taiwanese identity studies. After reviewing this literature, I present the theoretical framework for this study and elaborate on how I integrate these three bodies of literature in my study to construct an ethnographic analysis of transmigrant youths' processes of identification.

Chapter 3 introduces the research context and my ethnographic methodology. Beginning with the progress of resuming and strengthening cross-Strait interactions, my discussion of research context focuses on the educational demands faced by Taiwanese transmigrant youth in Mainland China, and further explains my research sites and settings. Along with the three main research methods, the processes of data collection and analysis are also explained.

Chapters 4, 5, and 6 map out the lived transmigrant experiences of young Taiwanese in the societies of both home and host countries from various perspectives with the main emphasis on their self identification. Chapter 4 focuses on their controversial political identity in China-Taiwan contexts and presents the struggles and strategies of transmigrant youth when they encounter conflicting political ideologies in schools, communities, and cross-Strait societies. Through examining their processes of political identification, this chapter also illustrates how structural authority, such as the school, the power of social interactions and discourses, and the agency of individuals come together to collectively shape young people's identity. This chapter provides answers to my research questions at all three levels (i.e. macro-, meso- and micro-levels) by showing how youth's political identity can be constructed and practiced through the interplay

of structures, particularly the educational structure, individuals as social agents, and interpersonal interactions.

Building from conclusions about youths' political identification in Chapter 4, Chapter 5 expands on analyses of the identification process of Taiwanese transmigrant youth to encompass societal and cultural factors, contexts, and influences. In keeping with that goal, the domain of identity exploration in this chapter reaches beyond formal schooling, the central domain of Chapter 4, to youths' communities and cross-Strait living environments. This chapter presents how young people's Taiwanese group identity is constructed by the integration of varying political, societal, and cultural identities. I elaborate how social norms – a salient theme emerging from my ethnography – play a crucial role in differentiating young transmigrants from local people in the Mainland, and further strengthen their group identity as Taiwanese in their host society. In sum, this chapter offers answers to my three-level research questions by revealing how two sets of social norms recognized and applied in the Taiwanese and Chinese societies, produced and reproduced collectively by the imposition of their social and educational structures, the youth's daily practices, and their interactions with others, to (re)shape the transmigrant youth's Taiwanese identity.

Following analyses of transmigrant youths' individual and group identity formation in Chapters 4 and 5, Chapter 6 redirects our focus to transmigrant youths' own reflections on their movement across the Strait. In this chapter, I examine how these students' existing economic capital contributes to the creation and accumulation of other capitals (i.e., cultural, educational, and social capitals), and ultimately what we might call "positive economic and social returns." Finally, I introduce and consider the possibility that many of the transmigrant youths in this study may be perceived or summarized by the term "third culture kids (TCKs)." This concept

embodies the discrepancies, in-between status, and enabling/disabling or location/dislocations that shape those youths' sense of belonging as well as nuances of Taiwanese identity as they manage the connections and disconnections between their cross-Strait societies. This chapter primarily answers the questions of if and how the variety of capitals they accumulate through schooling and social networks contribute to their adjustment and identification as transmigrants.

In Chapter 7, I review the significant findings of the study in order to construct a more comprehensive picture of identity formation of young Taiwanese transmigrant experience, and present key features of their group identification across the Strait, including political defensive identity, differentiated identity, coexisting romanticized identity, pragmatic identity, class identity, and youth culture identity. In explaining how the large "educational and social ecology" across the Strait shapes youth identity formation, I illustrate why and how the Taiwanese youths, sharing many characters of TCKs, do not share a so-called "transnational identity" – a phenomenon that can question and challenge the "development" of transnational identity as presumed in migration studies. Finally, I discuss how the "Taiwanese identity" that emerges from this study differs from and contributes to that offered in the scholarly literature, thus indicating possible directions for this research and in related studies.

Chapter 2: Theoretical Framework and Literature Review

My study of Taiwanese youths on the move draws from and is guided by three related bodies of literature, including (trans)migration studies (with the scholarship on "third culture kids" as a subset); Taiwanese identity studies; and educational studies of social and cultural (re)production and identification. Because I seek to understand and describe the lived experiences and identification of Taiwanese youth in their cross-Strait "social and educational ecology" (i.e., family, school, community, and society), my analysis is most significantly influenced by scholarship in (trans)migration studies, which I have found useful in analyzing how individual students participate in and come to embody particular identities associated with cross-Strait movement. My emphasis is on youths as newcomers with a Taiwanese background who travel to live in Mainland China, a society dominated by a political ideology positioned as antithetical to Taiwan's stance as a democratic nation-state. Through the lens of interlinking and dynamic networks of family, school, community, and cross-Strait societies, multidisciplinary theories concerning identity further help me evaluate youths' processes of identification from different perspectives. Studies on Taiwanese identity specifically provide my analysis with a fundamental resource for approaching individual identity concerns and how they shape what come to be understood as social norms. Educational studies of social and cultural (re)production help me understand how identification takes place in the context of formal schooling, and, further, analyze how youths' identifications are more broadly influenced through social groupings that are part of a complex "social and educational ecology." Apart from the focus on youth identification, theories of capital (re)production likewise help me explain how young Taiwanese transmigrants create and regenerate their various capitals through and during transmigration. In

short, the aforementioned interdisciplinary scholarship, as a focusing frame for my ethnographic data, enables me to construct the identification of Taiwanese transmigrant youth. Both Taiwanese identity studies and research on the transmigrant identity of third culture kids offer me references for rethinking the meaning of youths' "Taiwanese identity."

Migration Studies

As transnational and global migration have grown over the last century, migration studies have become an interdisciplinary field that draws scholars from a variety of disciplines, including anthropology, demography, economics, geography, history, law, political science, and sociology. While appropriate to the complexity of questions of migration, this phenomenon of broad multi-disciplinary representation also leads to the challenge that there is currently no single, unified theory of international migration that can explain all of its aspects (Massey, Arango, Hugo, Kouaouci, Pellegrino & Taylor, 1993). Approaching the study of migration from a variety of competing theoretical viewpoints and particular conceptual frameworks can limit the accumulation of knowledge and development of a coherent theory or at least a complementary set of theories of migration (Brettell & Hollifield, 2007). Thus, scholars in the field have begun initiating dialogue on migration across disciplines as an essential step toward the ultimate goal of understanding how theoretical models are constructed and what each can explain. Massey et al. (1993) proposed a systematic examination of contemporary international migration theories in order to "lay the groundwork for constructing an accurate and comprehensive theory of international migration for the twenty-first century" (p. 432). To extend such a possibility to include research on the impact of migration on education and identity formation, this dissertation

examines the Taiwanese youth's transmigrant experiences from an integrated perspective rather than from one academic discipline.

Migration studies explain and examine people's movement through three levels: macro-level, meso-level, and micro level. From the macro-level, neoclassical economic theorists tend to see economic factors, differences, and developments as the determinants for migration (O' Reilly, 2012; Suárez-Orozco, Suárez-Orozco, & Qin, 2005). The differences in labor supply and demand and wage rates, as well as political freedom, result in the push and pull forces that can explain migration flows. That is, migration is perceived as a result of the combination of push and pull factors. Corresponding to the macro theory is a microeconomic model which described migration as a rational individual choice (Massey et al., 1993; O'Reilly, 2012; Suárez-Orozco et al., 2005). From this micro approach, the individual decides where to go by calculating the costs and benefits of moving to various locations and then selects the one which brings the greatest returns. This approach is also used to argue that migration under some circumstances is considered to be a way to invest in human capital (Sjaastad, 1962). The new economics of migration (Stark & Bloom, 1985), from the meso-level, challenged the aforementioned perspectives, and hold that migration decisions are usually made by interrelated people, such as families and households. As the push-pull consideration and the estimated greatest net-return are thus not the only determinants for people's migration, minimizing and overcoming capital and risk constraints should also be considered. While migration is analyzed by economists from three levels, world system theorists view the entire world as an overarching capitalist system, and migration follows the global economic structure and world market flow (Massey et al., 1993). As global capitalism grows, capital interests penetrate poorer countries for greater profits by taking control over land,

raw materials, labor, and new consumer markets, which inevitably creates a mobile population that migrates abroad (Massey et al., 1993).

Whereas economic theories and world systems theories present migration as a one-off move to a permanent destination and contribute most to our understanding of labor migration, these approaches are criticized as being structural, action-centered, and insufficient to explain the complex processes of migration (O'Reilly, 2012). The following proposed migration systems and networks theories, in an attempt to reveal the complex process and dynamism of migration, tend to link two or more societies under a wider conceptualization of the migration system loop, in contrast to economic theories that emphasize a unidirectional movement from a migrant's original country to the host country. These links can be established through trade, culture, and politics, and the connections between them can be interrelated in complex ways. Approaching migration from migration systems and networks theories means to examine impacts on both sides and all linkages between these countries. Fawcett (1989) analyzed migration through four linkages, including state-to-state relations and comparisons, mass culture connections, family and personal networks, and migrant agency activities. By using this approach to examine migration, family and community become significant considerations in migration decisions. Hugo's study (1994) on Asian migration, for example, reveals that migration decisions are usually made by families, rather than by individuals. Family and community can also be perceived as resources in the migration process, for which they provide funds and encouragement in facilitating settlement and maintaining linkages to home (O'Reilly, 2012). The development of migration system approaches demonstrates the value of studying migration from a more inclusive and interdisciplinary perspective. The linkages between societies have also

gained the attention of many scholars, resulting in newly emerging theories on migration, transnationalism, and transmigration.

Transnationalism and Transmigration

During the 1990s, a significant shift from mainstream migration theories to transnational approaches emerged rapidly under the influence of globalization studies, resulting in definitions of transnationalism such as Basch, Schiller, & Blanc's: "a process by which migrants, through their daily life activities and social, economic, and political relations, create social fields that cross national boundaries" (1994, p. 27). Transmigration, also conceptualized as a process replacing earlier dichotomous concepts of emigration and immigration, has recently been recognized and widely studied from top-down and also bottom-up perspectives (Basch et al., 1994; Faist, 2000; Levitt 2001; Levitt & Jaworsky, 2007; Portes, 2001; Rouse, 1992). The improvement and innovation of technology that made transportation and communication more efficient and affordable has allowed migrants to more easily maintain strong relations with their home countries than before, or to travel constantly and live a dual life between places where they have built up economic, social, or cultural links. Owing to this developing phenomenon, scholars in migration studies have challenged the applicability of using static, location or state-based theories to study human migration (Portes, Guarnizo, & Landolt, 1999; Wong, 1997), and instead emphasize transnationalism that represents connections between places and people, linkages between nations, and the impacts of identities, actions, and structure (Faist, 2010).

Transnationalism has been particularly highlighted as appropriate to understanding the age of transmigration. Different from one-way, unidirectional processes where immigrants are assumed to settle permanently and become assimilated with the destination culture and place,

contemporary migrants are no longer be considered "uprooted," as many have maintained a strong linkage to their home countries socially, economically, and politically (Schiller, Basch, & Blanc, 1995; Kelly & Lusis, 2006). The increasing complexity in international migration has thus diversified contemporary migrant profiles. Basch et al. (1994) used the term "transmigrants" to describe migrants who maintain multi-stranded relations across borders, and who are no longer the stereotyped image of able-bodied, poorly-educated, and low-skilled laborers. Based on the identification of Castel and Miller (2003) that a growing number of global professionals, executives, technicians, and other highly-skilled personnel are transmigrants from Asian countries, Li and Teixeira (2007) documented a wide spectrum of socio-economic characteristics of transmigrants.

With such research in mind, scholars have gradually constructed a transnational approach to examine the complex and dynamic processes of movement across national borders (Faist, 2000; Levitt & Jaworsky, 2007; Schiller, 1997; Urry, 2000; Vertovec, 1999). In studies of transnational migration, transmigration processes can be identified through transmigrants' daily economic, political, social, cultural, and religious practices in both host and sending nations, wherein both societies can be connected, if not integrated, as a large transnational social field for transmigrants. Wong's study (1997) of Chinese capitalist migration from the Asia Pacific to Canada provides evidence for the existence of transnational social fields, including family and personal social fields, ethnic social fields, and business fields. Many scholars have demonstrated that creating and maintaining economic relations, political activities, and socio-cultural engagements in either or both societies results in transmigrants' sense of purpose and self-worth vis-a-vis their host society (Portes, 1999), while also allowing them to maintain a continuing sense of significance as a national of their original society (Levitt and Jaworsky, 2007).

Assimilation, Accommodation, and Integration

In migration studies, how individuals cross borders and adjust themselves in new environments, from assimilation, accommodation, to integration, has been a major research interest of scholars studying migration in various contexts. The process of how migrants are incorporated into mainstream culture has particularly occupied sociologists. Starting from the 1920s and 1930s, the assimilation perspective has become one of the dominant paradigms in migration study, focusing on immigration and its consequences (Brettell & Hollifield, 2008). Based on the assumption that migration was a one-off move to a permanent destination, assimilation is expected to be the eventual outcome of migration (Pedraza, 2006). Castles and Miller (2009) described assimilation as a process in which immigrants became assimilated or incorporated into the mainstream culture. Immigrants are expected to be "uprooted" from their linguistic, cultural, or social characteristics. However, during the 1960s, the assimilation theory came under fire due to its failure to explain the persistence of racial inequality and conflict, and a "resurgence" of ethnic identification (Park, 1928, from Brettell & Hollifield, 2008). A segmented assimilation perspective was proposed by Portes and Zhou (1993) in their study of new second generation immigrants in United States, in which they used the concept to explain the diverse possible outcomes of the process of adaptation. Their findings suggest that parents' social class is highly correlated with the class structure in which second generation immigrants assimilate. Educational resources and opportunities for upward mobility become advantages for second-generation immigrants. Hence, second generation individuals of middle-class immigrants are more likely to be assimilated into the middle class. In the three-stage model of contact, accommodation, and assimilation proposed by the Chicago School of sociology (Persons, 1987), accommodation represents the stage before migrants' assimilation into a different culture. In

order to minimize conflicts generated by contact with people from different cultures, migrants have to learn to accommodate the dominant culture of the host society. Shibutani and Kwan (1965) argued that accommodation is a more stable stage when unequal relations among groups can be still maintained, and the understanding of coexisting group positions is settled in a social structure.

Integration has been described as a strategy of acculturation adopted by immigrants who want to maintain their ethnic, cultural, or group identity while still valuing the dominant culture and interacting with other groups in daily activities (Berry, 2005). Berry (2005) further explained that integration only occurs when the host society holds an open and inclusive attitude in its orientation towards cultural diversity. In other words, integration involves mutual acceptance by non-dominant groups and the dominant society. There has been evidence of positive benefits for migrants using such an integration strategy in the process of acculturation. In Curran's study (2003) among Irish immigrants, it is clear that immigrants who adopt the integration strategy in their acculturation have better health conditions than people who adopt other strategies, such as marginalization. Berry, Phinney, Sam, and Vedder (2006) reported similar findings in their study on migrant youth. This study outlines a clear and consistent pattern wherein immigrant youth who adopt integration strategies achieve better psychological adaptation (e.g. fewer psychological problems, and higher self-esteem and life satisfaction) and sociocultural adaptation (e.g. good school adjustment and few behavioral problems).

Identity Studies

As the primary concern in this dissertation, identity, particularly transmigrant youth identity, is situated in relation to several approaches to identity studies below. Beginning with a brief

introduction to the core literature on identity and identity formation, this section reviews key studies on the identification of migrants (particularly migrant youth) from interdisciplinary perspectives, followed by Taiwanese identity studies.

The concept of identity has been widely studied across academic disciplines. Adolescence, representing a critical stage of psychological, physical, and social development during the transition from childhood to adulthood, has been studied extensively from the perspective of identity formation. Identity, defined by Fairclough and Wodak (1997), can be regarded as self-perception or self-understanding created by individuals, as social agents, in all of their social activities. The identity issues have been widely investigated in many academic disciplines, including political science, sociology, and anthropology, and in a wide range of contexts. In addition, a great diversity of identity issues (e.g. the single identity vs. the multiplicity and hybridity of identities, continuity vs. change and fluidity, structural determination vs. agency-driven identity) has also generated heated discussions. Among all identity theories, symbolic interaction theorists such as Goffman (1959), Strauss (1969), and Berger and Luckmann (1966) argued that different identities are presented by individuals to others through role-play, negotiations with others, and reactions of others in social interactions. Blumer (1969) and Goffman (1969) further explained that, rather than a fixed trait, identity is socially created and negotiated, and presents "itself" as a situational performance according to various contexts. People thus present multiple identities as part of the different roles they play in various social interactions.

Owning to the multiplicity of ideas about and constructions of identity, the focus on identity *per se* has been shifted to the process of meaning making. During the identification process,

identities are not what people "have" or "are" but rather the resources that people "use" to represent or perform themselves (Hall, 1996). Aside from the individual's subjectivity, some researchers stress the interplay of structure and agency. Williams (2000) and Stets and Burke (2003) paid particular attention to roles of both social structure and individuals as social agents in identity formation. Williams (2000) emphasized that social structures and individuals are mutually interdependent since individuals are "both acting subjects and objects of their own and others' attention" (p. 92). In the interplay of structure and agency, he further argued that identity is "the outcome of intersubjective work in which selves and others are mutually constitutive" (p. 92). In other words, we construct our sense of self through our interactions with real or imaged others.

In addition to personal identity, collective identity has been another critical identity topic. In social identity theory, Tajfel (1972, 1978, 1982) emphasized that people build up their social (or collective) identities through social comparison by distinguishing "us" and "them." The distinction of groups is not only a result of the similarity of their group members, but also the differences from other group members. Similar to intergroup comparison, Hall's concept of "other" (1996) and Delanty's "non-self" both suggested the process of othering, particularly negative othering, as a fundamental way for people to develop their social identity as separate from and in opposition to others. Differently, social anthropologists such as Barth (1969) emphasized that the boundary between groups is a socially constructed resource used by people to differentiate groups. The boundary does not necessarily serve to devalue other groups, but works as a form of self-categorization.

Critical to this study of transmigrant youth is Stuart Hall's (1996) conclusion that identity is "not an essence but a positioning" (p.3). Accordingly, when examining youth identity formation

I adopt aspects of Carspecken's hermeneutic-reconstructive methodological approach (1996, 1999) to reconstruct my research subjects' identity meanings. By bringing up implicit meanings of their social actions through intersubjective position-taking, I am better able to understand their identity formation, including the different ways that young people "are positioned by" and "position" themselves (Hall, 1996). In addition, positing a "weak" version of identity, Grad and Rojo (2008) stressed the importance of studying "fluidity, impermanence, complexity and context sensitive identities rather than identity (p.4)," the notion originally proposed by Brubaker and Cooper (2000). Accordingly, to understand and construct transmigrant youth identities, I pay close attention to the identity formation process, eschewing identities *per se*, in order to avoid using a singular identity to present youths' diversity of identification.

Identity Literature on Migrants

Identify (trans)formation of people moving across a border has been a major concern in migration studies. Among a variety of research studies on how migrants shape their identities and/or how their identities are reshaped during the process of migration, many scholars have focused on the identification process of migrant youth to investigate how they form or transform their identity through acceptance of, negotiation with, and resistance to political or cultural ideologies imposed by or encountered in the host society through social interactions. The following section reviews several key characteristics of migrant identity (i.e. situational identity and resistance identity) and then explains the emerging concept of transmigrant identity. Finally, the focus of identity formation moves from migrants as a whole to migrant youth.

Situational Identity and Resistance Identity

Building on Goffman's notion of socially created and negotiated identity (1959), Kaufert (1977) articulated how identities are socially constructed and how the individual's understanding or formulation of "Who am I?" changes from situation to situation. Ryutov and Neuman (2002) argued that situational identity is purposefully constructed by individuals with preferable outcomes in mind, such as desired privacy, monetary benefits, and safety, etc. For example, Kennedy's (2010) study of French Jews in the Diaspora points out that Jewish identity is not fixed but situational, where French Jews possess multiple identities of being ethnically French, linguistically Francophone, and mainly Sephardic Jews. These multiple identities were found to bring advantages as well as challenges for them when resettling in different parts of Montreal. French Jews also mentioned that the religious connection and the freedom to practice Judaism have made their lives in Montreal easier.

Aside from situational identity, another salient characteristic of migrants' identity has emerged from ethnographic studies of migration, that of "resistant identity." With his concepts of "Not-Me" or "self-disidentifications," McCall (2003) presented the refusal or unwillingness of migrants to assimilate to the culture of the dominant group, generally indicated by scholars as resistance identity (Castells, 1997; Tsuda, 2000). Various studies show that migrants' performance of resistance identity may range from defiant acts in public to modest demands for others' acceptance and acknowledgment of their cultural differences. Tsuda (2000) further stated that these behaviors are usually conscious acts designed to oppose the dominant cultural norms. In Tsuda's (2000) study among Japanese-Brazilian return migrants in Japan, a form of autonomous ethnic resistance was identified, where Japanese assimilative pressures were opposed. Killian and Johnson (2006) examined the identity negotiation processes of North

African immigrant women in France and found that these immigrant women resisted being categorized as "immigrants," and the class and educational resources and other structural factors these women received or possessed all contributed to their ability to affect others' perceptions of their identity.

Transmigrants' Identity

In the context of explaining transmigration, numerous scholars have challenged the concept of a single identity with ideas of "transnational identity," which is associated with more than one and sometimes conflicting national affiliations (Schiller et al., 1995; Vertovec, 2001). In transmigration studies, Faist (2000), Kelly and Lusis (2006), and Portes and Sensenbrenner (1993) recognized that migrants' social networks are specifically a source of social capital, particularly for highly skilled transmigrants who can take advantage of border-crossing opportunities (Guarnizo, 2003). In this manner, Ong and Nonini (1997) argued that identity is formed out of strategies for survival and accumulation of diverse capitals. In such migration studies, many scholars focused on the transformation of young people's identity or even the formation of their cosmopolitan identity, such as Mitchell (2007) and Thiem (2009). Due to the complexity of transmigrants' social relations and daily activities conducted across international borders, transmigrants' identity is usually regarded as fluid and multiple (Schiller, Basch, & Blanc, 1992). Sassen (1998) proposed the "portability of national identity" to describe contemporary migrants' tendency to claim more than one membership. Schiller and Fouron (1990) found that Haitian immigrants' identities are formed in a global context where their transnational experiences reflect on their identities, which not only transcend race and ethnicity but also exist across national boundaries. In Somerville's study (2008) exploring identity

construction among second-generation migrants from India, these migrants have been found to be able to maintain various forms of connections to their parents' birthplace while building their own citizenships in Canada at the same time. Through cross-border communication and visitation with friends and family in India, migrants are physically and emotionally connected to more than one country. It is clear that the frequent transnational communication and information flows play an important part in facilitating and activating this identification process.

Migrant Youth Identity

In migration studies, scholars have devoted much effort to understanding migration experiences among adults (Berry & Sam, 1997), and lately, there has been a growing interest in studying adolescents. Adolescent migrants may experience tension and anxiety, particularly those who have to face conflicts coming from different value systems (e.g. home and school) in their daily lives (Ghuman, 1997). As building one's identity is a major developmental task during adolescence, it is particularly difficult for migrant adolescents (Rumbaut, 1994). Scholars have addressed the importance of studying migrant adolescents' identities (Khanlou, 2005; Tartakovsky, 2009) and their process of identity formation (Jensen, 2003; Tsang, Irving, Alaggia, Chau, & Benjamin, 2003).

In a three-year longitudinal study, Tartakovsky (2009) investigated migrant youths' cultural identities by comparing their attitudes towards their host society and homeland and found that even though adolescent migrants hold a more positive attitude towards their host country than their homeland, their sense of belonging to the homeland is stronger than their connection to their new place. In their research studying the concept of ethnic identity among satellite Chinese children who moved to North American for years and then returned to China, Tsang and his

colleagues (2003) showed that these children develop multiple strategies for negotiating their own identities, where the development of their ethnic identities is entangled with citizenship, culture, and peer groups. In addition, this study confirms other researchers' views of acculturation as a dual process where these immigrants are socialized both into the host culture and the culture of origin. Likewise, concerning the strategy that migrant youth adopt in their identity formation and adjustment, Berry and his colleagues (2006), in their large international study collecting data from 13 immigrant-receiving countries, revealed that most youth (36.4%) adopt the strategy of integration as a way of acculturation. Those youth tend to integrate the dominant culture of their host societies into their heritage cultures, and this way of acculturation is indicated as "a bicultural way of living" (p. 323). These migrant youth utilize various ways of engaging in both cultures, including preferences, cultural identities, language behavior, social engagements, and relationships with parents.

Taiwanese Identity

Focusing on the identification of Taiwanese youth across the Strait, my study is primarily concerned with the concept of so-called "Taiwanese identity." Influenced by the complicated cultural, ethnic, and political relations between China and Taiwan, the boundaries of Taiwanese and Chinese identities are hotly debated (Brown, 2004; Harrison, 2009). Within Mainland China, the state strongly conveys its economic development (performance legitimacy) and national sovereignty (national legitimacy) instead of ideological legitimacy (communism) to its citizens (Zhao, 1998), and stresses that "western" ideology is incompatible with China's national characteristics and social reality. When focused on Taiwanese people, the Chinese state advocates the value of "Chinese culture" as a means of incorporating them into the Chinese

nation. “Politicized culture” is thus thought to be the overarching cross-Strait space of identification for Taiwanese people, transcending nationalism, political ideology, and ethnicity. A hegemonic “Chinese (or Han) culture” is homogenized and legitimized by the Chinese state, which seeks political solidarity and stability. In this context, “Taiwanese culture” and ethnicity are regarded as subordinate, or even nonexistent outside (Wachman, 1994).

In sharp contrast, the Taiwanese government and people, after painful internal social debates over several decades, construct and recognize the Taiwanese culture (and ethnicity) as distinct from Chinese culture, wherein Taiwanese identity has been constructed and largely strengthened through various political, cultural, and social means (Hsiau, 2000; Wachman, 1994). The formation of Taiwanese culture, Taiwanese ethnicity, and Taiwanese identity after going through various internal debates and also external challenges still remains indefinite. While the so-called “Taiwanese identity” can be analyzed as constructed by cultural, ethnic, political, and even linguistic characteristics, due to the ambiguity of its definition and the multiplicity of meanings it can accommodate, “Taiwanese identity” tends to be constructed ideologically by political power and the government (Brown, 2004). The complex nature of Taiwanese identity and external political manipulation further results in its “fluidity” and “changeability” (Brown, 2014).

The core of the puzzle of Taiwanese identity is what people in Taiwan identify with. Do they identify with Taiwanese people as a nation, with the government as a state, or with the Republic of China (ROC) in Taiwan as a nation-state? Taiwanese identity emerged as a “national identity (族群認同)” first during the period of Japan’s colonization (1895-1945) when people in Taiwan resisted suppression from the colonial government and regarded themselves as Chinese, Han, or Taiwanese people who all possessed Chinese cultural heritage (Hao, 2010). The emergence of Taiwanese identity at this stage was ethnic-based Chinese national identity. After the KMT

government took over Taiwan in 1945 and Chinese ethnic nationalism was thoroughly and strictly implemented in Taiwan, Taiwanese identity generally turned to become a strong "regional identity" (Brown, 2004). During the 1970s, the ROC's loss of its seat in the United Nations and severance of diplomatic relation with the US contributed to Taiwan's identity crisis. The identity crisis and following social movements for political democracy stirred up the advocacy of Taiwan's national consciousness and independence. With the first direct presidential election and political democratization, Chinese nationalism declined while Taiwanese ethnic identity, the Taiwanese State, and even Taiwan nationalism all grew since the 1990s (Hao, 2010).

The distinction between Chinese culture and Taiwanese culture continued to be shaped and reinforced thereafter. After Chen Shui-bian took over the presidential office as the first non-KMT president in Taiwan in 2000, Taiwan's unfolding was re-narrated by reinstating the aboriginals who had resided in Taiwan for thousands of years, in contrast to the Han identity closely connected to dominant Chinese culture (Brown, 2004). On the one hand, this new narrative of Taiwan's culture and history tended to make a claim on Taiwan's national uniqueness and background shared by people in Taiwan since its ancestry, where culture was not necessarily inherited from Han culture, and Taiwan has a contemporary history that diverges from Chinese history. This effort led to Taiwanese people's national identity wherein they may identify with a single cultural and historical community (Hao, 2010). On the other hand, Taiwan's political party in 2000 also brought up Taiwanese people's recognition of its democratic political system, which led to people's identity with the State, in strong contrast to the People's Republic of China's communist-dominated regime. Beyond national identity and state identity, the identification with a nation-state was formed and spread throughout Taiwanese

society through the construction of concepts of "life community" and "new Taiwanese" proposed by former President Lee Teng-hui. The essence of identification with a nation-state refers to people's recognition of and identity with a nation-state composed of one or multiple ethnicities, and Lee Teng-hui's "life community" indicated that all people living in Taiwan are "new Taiwanese" regardless of ethnicity, ancestor's origin, and culture and language, as all identify with the place, Taiwan, where they live (Hsiao, 2000).

Despite the ambiguity of Taiwanese identity, a variety of public surveys studying Taiwanese people's identity over the past decades have commonly shown that a steadily increasing percentage of the population in Taiwan identify themselves as Taiwanese and a decreasing percentage claim to be Chinese (Hao, 2010). But people's identity is not necessarily reflected in their attitudes towards cross-Strait relations. Numerous public opinion polls show, regarding the issue of Taiwan's independence or reunification with China, that the majority of people in Taiwan prefer to maintain the status quo. The discrepancy between people's identity and their attitudes toward cross-Strait relations thus presents two main characteristics of Taiwanese identity at this stage. First, Taiwanese national awareness and national identity with the focus on its specific culture and unique historical experience are becoming solidified. Second, Taiwanese identity, as a pragmatic identity, becomes incorporated with the state identity and nation-state identity in order to respond to changing socio-economic and geopolitical contexts (Lin, 2005; Wu, 2005). Given these pragmatic attitudes, Keng, Chen, and Huang (2006) concluded that materialism and satisfaction with the nation-state are more important than ethnicity to the people in Taiwan.

Given the heterogeneity of Taiwanese identity, an overwhelmingly large amount of literature has emphasized how Taiwanese identity is created and reinforced through political manipulation

and public discourses, and even state institutions, such as schools. These studies from the perspectives of political science and sociology mostly focus on the power of structure and discourse and downplay individual agency in identity formation and practices. My exploration of Taiwanese young people's construction of identity, rather than focusing on transmigrant youth identity as primarily a political identity, examines the identification process and what "Taiwanese identity" means through youth voices and actions.

The inclusive scholarship on identity formation enables me to examine the complex identification of individual Taiwanese transmigrant youths from multidisciplinary perspectives. Whereas sociologists and anthropologists provide me with tools of observation and analysis to examine and construct the identification process of my research subjects, the focus of migration theorists on migrants' identity recognition and performances enables me to consider Taiwanese transmigrant youths' internal perceptions and acknowledgements as well as external behaviors regarding their identity. Transmigrant identity studies further help me review the identity of youths across the Strait to scrutinize their multiple political, cultural, societal, or national identities. Taiwanese identity studies from the perspective of political science and history further enrich my understanding of how Taiwanese identity is differently constructed and interpreted at various historical moments, and how Taiwanese identity can be fluid and changeable. Most importantly, the heterogeneity of Taiwanese identity reminds me to pay particular attention to disentangling Taiwanese identity in the context of transmigrant youth reports, allowing for the reconstruction of the meanings of Taiwanese identity in this research project.

Cultural (Re)production and Capital (Re)production through Education

The third body of literature that informs my research approach is mainly composed of cultural (re)production theories and their related capital (re)production theories. To understand the identify formation of school-age transmigrant youth, I closely observe their lives across the Strait, and particularly their lives in schools where my research subjects spend most of their time. For school settings and beyond, cultural (re)production theories provide a framework that I use to observe and analyze the power structures that impose political and cultural ideology through schooling, and the agency of my research subjects to interact and negotiate the structural ideology they see and understand around them, as well as the mainstream culture. In other words, through the interplay of educational structure and my student participants, cultural (re)production theories enable me to examine the identification process of young people across the border, and to investigate how they produce and reproduce the meaning of being Taiwanese in different types of schools through the interactional dynamics between social agents and structures. Drawing on cultural (re)production theories, I further consider the creation, accumulation, conversion, and distribution of various capitals (i.e. social, cultural, educational, and economic capitals) in school-based education to explain how transmigrant youth are presumed by their parents to obtain capital advantages through their schooling in their new land.

Whereas cultural reproduction theory provides a framework to examine how inequality, including capital inequality, is reproduced through the cultural dominance and structural power in educational settings, cultural production theory fills in some of the insufficiencies of cultural reproduction theory to better explain how individuals respond to the imposition of dominant culture through structural power, and employ their agency to produce their own cultures and identities. Schools, as noted by critical scholars, are not regarded as a place for students to create

and achieve upward social mobility, but rather as an apparatus where existing social inequality is reproduced (Apple, 1979; Bourdieu & Passeron, 1977; Giroux, 1983). Bourdieu and Passeron (2000) particularly emphasized how education is used to facilitate the transmission of dominant ideologies to the dominated. In this way, school is often regarded as the most salient state apparatus for selecting, transforming, and reinterpreting knowledge, and imposing so-called "legitimatized" ideology on young people for identity (re)construction through textbooks, curricula, school activities and rituals, and school cultures (Althusser, 1971; Apple, 1993a; Bourdieu, 1994; Giroux, 2000; Williams, 1989). Cultural production in formal education is further explained by Apple's notion of the "hidden curriculum" (1982). Apple (1982) and Giroux (1983) argued that social and cultural norms, beliefs, and values are conveyed by the existing school structures to students through covert instruction and social interactions in school.

Based on cultural reproduction theory, the school, as a state apparatus infused with political ideology, tends to homogenize students' national identity through educational processes. The influences of formal schooling on students' homogenized national identity have been also widely addressed and investigated in China (Fairbrother, 2004; Liu, 2008), Hong Kong (Fairbrother, 2003s; Yuen & Byram, 2007), as well as Taiwan (Corcuff, 2005; Liu, Hung, & Vickers, 2005; Su, 2006). In the educational contexts of China and Taiwan, "national identity" is similarly promoted and delivered in schools, but in different forms. Specifically, whereas nationalism is largely and overtly advocated through patriotic education in schools in China (Zhao, 1998; Fairbrother, 2004; Gries, 2005), Taiwan identity and Taiwan consciousness, rather than national identity, have been vigorously propagated through "localized education" in Taiwan since the 1990s. Promoting Taiwanese identity through a focus on the Taiwanese people, the place where they live, and the culture that they share serves to strengthen the Taiwan-centered concepts of

students, and also to avoid the complex debates regarding the meaning of national identity in the Taiwanese context (Chu & Lin, 2001; Lee, 2005; Liu & Huang, 2002). In this study, I draw upon cultural reproduction theory to explore and examine, in both local Chinese and Taiwanese businessman's schools, how different dominant political and cultural ideologies are imposed on students, particularly Taiwanese transmigrant youth, to shape their personal and cultural identity.

In contrast to studies that foreground the penetration of mainstream ideology and dominant culture in schools, others examine students' negotiations with and resistance to cultural hegemony in schools (Giroux, 1983; Levinson, 1996; Willis, 1981). Levinson and Holland's (1996) cultural production theory explained how individuals, as social agent, interact with and respond to the dominant culture and ideology is delivered through the power of structure. Explaining that "while the educated person is culturally *produced* in definite sites, the educated person also culturally *produces* cultural forms (p. 14)," Levinson and Holland (1996) clearly pointed out the interplay between structure and social agents and further emphasized the agency of individuals to actively confront ideology and produce their own cultures. In his significant cultural production theory book, *Learning to Labor*, Willis (1977) studied British working class students in school, and showed how "lads," through their social interactions with the school authorities, peers, and parents, produce counterculture to resist the dominant culture, and identify with their groups to differentiate themselves from others. Referencing the insights of cultural production theory has enhanced my ability to pay particular attention to transmigrant youth as social agents, and examine how they accept, adapt to, negotiate with, and/or resist political and cultural ideologies embedded in their different schools through social interactions. Particularly, cultural production theory further provides a framework for me to explore and investigate how

Taiwanese students in different schooling settings respond to the mainstream ideologies, and if they would or how they might further produce and practice their own identities as a result.

Among cultural reproduction theorists arguing for the reproduction of power relationships and social inequality in school, Bourdieu (1986) particularly pointed out that, in school, the validation and distribution of various capitals, including social, cultural, educational, and symbolic capitals, result in and reproduce inequality. I do not look much in this study at how social inequality is reproduced in school, but rather I draw upon the dynamics of capital conversion and reproduction in education unraveled by Bourdieu to show how the Taiwanese transmigrant youth and their families tend to create the most positive return to their transmigration through the transformation and accumulation of diverse capitals. In cultural reproduction theory, Bourdieu (1986) argued that the three forms of economic, social, and cultural capitals can be converted to one another and reproduced through the structure of schooling. In his conceptualization of various capitals, Bourdieu (1986) defined social capital as "the aggregate of the actual or potential resources which are linked to possession of a durable network of more or less institutionalized relationships of mutual acquaintance and recognition - or in other words, to membership in a group – which provides each of its members with the backing of the collectivity – owned capital, a 'credential' which entitles them to credit, in the various senses of the word" (p. 248-249). In short, social capital is a potential resource that can be created and accumulated through individuals' networks or memberships, for possible economic return. School, as argued by Ballentine and Spade (2008) and Warner (1999), is a social field where students can build up their social capital through making friends with each other on the one hand, but a place that can also destroy their social capital. Similar to the importance of social capital, in Chinese society "*guanxi* (關係)," translated as "relation" or

"relationship" and corresponding to the notion of social capital, plays a particularly crucial role in producing economic and other capitals (Gold, Guthrie, & Wank, 2002). Gold and his colleagues concluded that "*Guanxi*, as social capital is accumulated with the intention of converting it into economic, political, or symbolic capital" (p. 7).

In order to establish and expand one's social networks and relationships for future contact, Portes (2000) emphasized the importance of possessing some cultural knowledge alongside investing some material resources. "Cultural knowledge," he points out, could be included in the broad notion of cultural capital that Bourdieu proposed (1986). According to Bourdieu (1986), cultural capital comes in three forms that of embodied, objectified, and institutionalized cultural capital. Embodied cultural capital refers to a series of character traits, such as taste, manner, styles, cultural knowledge, etc. Objectified cultural capital refers to cultural artifacts and goods that range from literature and dance forms to school textbooks. Academic credentials and educational qualifications acquired from schools or educational agencies are considered as institutionalized cultural capital. Although it is presumed that cultural capital is possessed by all individuals to some degree, different types of cultural capital distinguish individuals from one another in different social statuses. Individuals with high social standing may tend to have their descendants carry on these cultural privileges by exposing them to the environment where cultural capital is valued and thus further build up social capitals with those individuals who share similar cultural capital (Ballentine & Spade, 2008). Many scholars have studied the formation, accumulation, and conversion of cultural capital and social capital to examine how these two capitals are produced in families and reproduced in schools to shape the individual's future. Bourdieu and Passeron (2000) stated that cultural resources that individuals have access to can be transformed into one's cultural capital, and can further serve as a social advantage in

school to gain advanced academic credentials as educational or symbolic capital. Such symbolic capital converted from cultural capital can also contribute to one's economic capital return that in turn elevates one's social standing (Lareau, 1989; Levinson, 2001). Based on capital dynamics in education, school plays a crucial role not only in offering educational capital, but also in maintaining and reproducing the social and cultural capitals for future possible economic gain. In this study, for example, transmigrant youths' parents have similar expectations that their children can obtain economic returns by accumulating social, cultural, and educational capitals in school. Drawing upon capital reproduction theory has facilitated my analysis of how various capitals are created, accumulated, and converted within and beyond schools, and if and how the capital dynamics operates differently in the different school options that the families of Taiwanese transmigrant youths in this study have chosen for their children.

Third Culture Kids (TCKs)

As I pursued my fieldwork, I began to realize that my reconstruction and integration of the experiences of young Taiwanese transmigrants on both sides of the Strait could be enriched by scholarship on third culture kids (TCKs). In particular, the challenges and strategies that TCKs encounter and employ in their cultural and social interactions offered me a reference point from which to observe, investigate, and construct the identification development processes of young Taiwanese transmigrants.

In fact, there is an increasing body of research on adolescent migrants representing various regions of the world: that of children and adolescents who spend a significant period of time living in another country due to their parents' work. This population is frequently found to develop a sense of relationship to all of the cultures they have experienced but may not claim full

ownership in any (Pollock, 1988). Useem et al. (1963) described these children as those who feel like they do not belong to either their ancestral culture (first culture) or their host culture (second culture), but have developed a third culture of their own. The term third culture kids was thus coined to describe their cultural location and affiliation.

Third culture kids have been identified as having sets of distinct characteristics. Research investigating their home and family relationships has revealed that TCKs develop strong relationships with their families, where, at least for the last two generations, fathers mostly play the roles of decision makers and mothers as home managers (Useem & Downie, 1976), a traditional family structure. Most TCKs develop positive relationships with their parents and feel emotionally attached to them. Facing constant changes and uncertainties accompanied by moving to a new territory seems to strengthen their family bonding. Other than family, school systems tend to be another field that provides continuity for TCKs (Useem & Downie, 1976). Useem and Downie (1976) pointed out that academic performances are the main focus of these schools, especially for secondary schools where students are oriented toward preparing for college. Aside from following the same orientation of stateside schools, overseas schools tend to provide enrichment courses in the local language and cultures. The purpose of most American-sponsored overseas schools has been to prepare American students to be able to enter the "mainstream" of United States society after they come back to their home country. Linguistic ability is another characteristic of TCKs (Bowman, 2001; Gillies, 1998; Useem, 2001; Useem & Downie, 1976). According to Useem and Downie (1976), TCKs are more familiar with foreign languages than their stateside peers. The field where they learn a second language is not limited to formal education, and they may learn the new language in their families, particularly from one of their foreign-born or cross-cultural parents. Some TCKs may acquire the local language from

their house servants. TCKs' third culture background also reflects on their choices of occupation or future orientation (Lam & Selmer, 2003; Useem & Downie, 1976). An investigation of future career choices has been conducted among 150 college-enrolled TCKs, and surprisingly, none of them prefer to pursue a career exclusively in the United States, and all TCKs expect to be mobile to some extent. These young people also recognize the importance of education and professional development in order to meet the requirement of having a career in the third culture (Useem & Downie, 1976).

One of the common challenges for TCKs is the issue of reentry into their home country. The term "reverse culture shock" has been utilized to describe this "process of readjusting, reacculturation, and reassimilating into one's own home culture after living in a different culture for a significant period of time" (Gaw, 2000, p. 83). Potential problems associated with reverse cultural shock may include feelings of anxiety, alienation, and depression (Rogers & Ward, 1993). Interpersonal relationships is another aspect affected by reverse cultural shock. Research has been conducted on how reverse cultural shock influences returnees' relationship satisfaction and perceived quality of relationships among friends and family. For example, Kidder (1992) studied Japanese university students who had overseas study experiences, and found their struggles in many aspects, including physical and behavioral changes as well as interpersonal communication style changes. It is recognized that readjustment problems of these study subjects were influenced by value conflicts that resulted from their social relationships, as well as with their professional roles.

For TCKs who experience constant moving and adapting to new environments, forming identity inevitably becomes a particularly challenging task (Fail, Thompson, & Walker, 2004; Pollock & Van Reken, 2009). Although some TCKs have been raised and educated in foreign

countries, they do not feel they are integral parts of those countries (Useem & Downie, 1976). Uehara (1986) discussed in his study among Japanese children who have overseas experiences how the severity of identity crisis among these children is associated with age and length of stay overseas. These children tend to identify themselves as "others" or foreigners in their original countries, and similarly identify themselves as coming from their original countries when they are overseas (Pollock & Van Reken, 2009). Useem and Downie (1976) described how TCKs have the ability to cope, rather than adjust, and become both "a part of" and "apart from" different situations. Fail et al. (2004) further articulated this concept of being "a part of" and "apart from" their peers, being socially marginal, and also argued that TCKs, struggling for their identity and social grouping, may hold multiple senses of belonging or no sense of belonging. Likewise, Bowman (2001) concluded that TCKs often experience "feelings of rootlessness and exclusion (p.8)" owing to their continuous movement from one place to another.

During their transmigration, in order to adapt to the host society and fit in successfully, TCKs may develop different strategies. For instance, they have been observed to set aside their third culture experiences in order to adapt to their new environment (Downie, 1976). Bennett (1993) argued that TCKs tend to use the strategies of acting or role-play in their social interactions with people from other cultures. He further proposed the concept of "cultural marginality" to describe two approaches that TCKs may adopt. First, TCKs taking the approach of "encapsulated marginality" tend to perceive their multicultural background as a disadvantage, and feel marginalized and isolated in their host society that corresponds to the notion of "TCKs as outsiders" (p.332) as pointed out by Fail et al. (2004). The second approach is "constructive marginality," wherein TCKs tend to utilize their multicultural identities as an advantage. They value their multiple senses of belonging to different places and take advantage of being "a part of

and apart from the group at the moment" (Downie, 1976, p.201). TCKs adopting the approach of constructive marginality are thus able to build up their senses of self when relating to people with various cultural backgrounds.

To sum up, the integration of these aforementioned theories is used to answer my overarching research questions regarding how Taiwanese transmigrant youth's identification is shaped and reshaped through imposition of ideologies in social and educational structures at the macro-level, through social interactions and negotiations of the youth and others in the large social and educational ecology at the meso-level, and through their daily identity practices at the micro-level. The interdisciplinary identity theories and cultural (re)production theories are used in Chapter 4 to examine how the legitimized ideology shapes students' political identification through school culture and structure, and students' compliance with, negotiate with, or resistance to imposing ideology. Social identity theories are adopted in Chapter 5 to show how social norms are used by Taiwanese transmigrant youth to strengthen the similarities of their in-group members, and to differentiate themselves and out-group people. The in-group similarities and inter-group differences result in the solidarity of the youth's Taiwanese identity. In Chapter 6, migration studies, particularly the studies of transmigration and TCKs, and capital (re)production theories are drawn upon to construct the Taiwanese young people's transnational lives, and further to analyze their capital production and accumulation through schooling and extensive social networking. Finally, identity theories with the focus on transnational identity and Taiwanese identity are used to discuss the meaning of the Taiwanese identity those transmigrant youth construct and examine if they build a so-called transnational identity. After framing my study by incorporating these theories, in the following chapter I introduce the ethnographic methodology I used to answer these research questions.

Chapter 3: Research Context and Methodology

In chapters 1 and 2 I outline my research questions and the theoretical frameworks, and also present multi-disciplinary scholarship that informed my research questions and supported my frameworks. The interlinked scholarship also inspired my methodological approaches to seek answers of my questions in the field. This chapter explains what "finding answers in the field" means in the cross-Strait contexts. To this end, I first describe the complex political, social, educational and familial contexts that shape Taiwanese transmigrant youths' identities, followed by a discussion of research methods I employed to analyze and better understand their identities.

Beginning with a summary of cross-Strait relations since 1949, I explore the changing dynamics of China-Taiwan relations and further focus on the formal educational systems in both societies, followed by an examination of the educational demands placed upon Taiwanese transmigrant youths and their corresponding formal schooling options in Mainland China. After clarifying how individual and group interviews, participant observation, and textbook content analyses helped me answer (and complicate) my research questions, I conclude with important details on data collection and their analysis.

Research Context

China-Taiwan Relations in Recent Decades

1. 1949 - late 1980s

The current relationship between China and Taiwan traces back to the civil war within Mainland China that ended in 1949. During the last days of the civil war between the Chinese Nationalist Party (KMT) and the Chinese Communist Party (CCP), KMT leader Chiang Kai-

Shek[1] and two million refugees and soldiers fled to Taiwan, carrying with them the regime of the Republic of China (ROC). Since then, Mainland China has been ruled by the CCP as the People's Republic of China (PRC). The outcome of unresolved hostility in an era of Cold War politics was that Chinese Nationalist Party (KMT) connections to the Mainland were strictly prohibited under enactment of martial law. The lifting of martial law by Chiang Ching-Kuo, the son of Chiang Kai-Shek, on July 14, 1987, foreshadowed policies of gradual liberalization and democratization. Chiang's administration allowed Mainlander veterans to return to China for family visits in the same year. Following this initial reconnection between China and Taiwan, both sides expected increasing economic and social cooperation in the coming years.

The defeat of the KMT and its retreat to Taiwan in the late 1940s changed the population in Taiwan, which gave rise to various ethnic conflicts. Nowadays, Taiwan is composed of 98 percent descendants of people migrating from the Mainland, and 2 percent indigenous people. Among the first group, approximately 85 percent are regarded as native Taiwanese (*benshengren*, 本省人) whose ancestors moved to Taiwan before 1945. In particular, they consist of 72 percent Hoklo people who can speak the Min dialect, which is generally called the Taiwanese dialect in Taiwan, and 13 percent Hakka people whose native language is the Hakka dialect (Corcuff, 2002). And less than 13-15 percent are called Mainlanders or Mainlander Taiwanese (*waishengren*, 外省人), whose previous generations went to Taiwan with the KMT government. It is estimated that there were more than one million people retreating to Taiwan during the period of 1947-1949 (Law, 2002).

[1] Owing to this research mainly conducted in Mainland China, and the researcher's language background, this research uses the Romanization pinyin system and traditional Chinese characters. All names of people, except the pseudonyms of research participants, maintain their original English spellings.

2. 1990 - present

In July of 1988, the State Council of the PRC published "Rules to encourage Taiwanese People's Investment," which gave Taiwanese businessmen[2] the option to invest in China. At the same time, the Taiwanese government allowed indirect investment in Chinese production within Taiwan. This rule is considered the first regulation governing cross-Strait economic relations since 1949. Beginning in 1990, the Taiwan government opened up investment and trade with China through the third party of Hong Kong. Henceforth, the trade and investment relations between China and Taiwan blossomed into a new phase.[3] In particular, from 2000, after the Taiwan government terminated the vast majority of remaining restrictions on investment in China, cross-Strait interactions through trade and investment have increased dramatically. In turn, China has become the biggest exporter to Taiwan and also its most important economic partner. These growing economic engagements led to a subsequent increase of cultural and social interactions between China and Taiwan, and contributed to the establishment of direct flights and ferries across the Strait. These significant periods in contemporary China-Taiwan relations can be summarized within five stages.

Stage One: 1990-1996 / Discovery Stage

The Taiwan government opened up indirect investment across the Strait in 1990, even though trade was still under fairly strict control. However, the relationship across the Strait turned sour

[2] In this dissertation, I use the term "businessmen" as a general designation for those people from Taiwan, male and female, who are building up their business or being employed in Mainland China. It is assumed that most of these individuals are men, but some women do move across the Strait for business investment and employment.

[3] Wu, R. Y. (2009). The review and prospect of Taiwan and China trading relationship: Where does Taiwanese business go? Taiwan Thinktank, *24*. Retrieved from http://www.taiwanthinktank.org/page/chinese_attachment_1/2135/__.pdf

owing to the threatening position of the PRC government and CCP as a result of the first Taiwanese presidential election in 1996.

Stage Two: 1996-2000 / "No Haste, Be Patient" Stage

In March 1996, Lee Teng-Hui became the first elected president of Taiwan. His government announced the "No Haste, Be Patient" policy, which restricted cross-Strait economic interchange. The policy made clear that "high technology" enterprises, "basic construction" companies, and those businesses with "investment capital over USD 50 million" should be patient about crossing the Strait, in order to protect Taiwan's advantages in research, development, and capital. The announcement of this policy initiated a wide range of debates on the balance Taiwan should achieve between national security and economic profits.

Stage Three: 2001-2006 / "Proactive Liberalization with Effective Management" Stage

Taiwan's first political party alternation took place in March 2000, when Chen Shui-bian from the Democratic Progressive Party (DPP) was elected as president. Different from Lee's rather conservative cross-Strait economic policy, Chen's administration turned the "No Haste, Be Patient" policy into the "Proactive Liberalization with Effective Management" policy in 2006, wherein the government lifted investment restrictions with Mainland China. From this stage onward, Taiwan's investments in and exports to China rose significantly.

Stage Four: 2006-2008 / "Proactive Management with Effective Liberalization" Stage

As a result of the "Proactive Liberalization with Effective Management" policy from 2001, Taiwan's economy rapidly came to rely largely on China's low wages and large markets. The economic growth rate began to drop and the unemployment rate rose in Taiwan. It was recognized that the wide-open cross-Strait economic interactions caused a serious threat to Taiwan's economy. In response, the government proclaimed the new economic principle of

"Proactive Management with Effective Liberalization" in 2006, in order to reverse the unfavorable balance of trade across the Strait. Under the new policy, the Taiwan government started to carefully examine and manage investments of Taiwanese enterprises in Mainland China.

Stage Five: 2008-present / "Positively Pro-PRC" Stage

After Taiwan's second party turnover, Ma Ying-jeou from the KMT remained in power for two presidential terms. Contrary to Chen's former policy, Ma's government actively promoted and encouraged cross-Strait interactions across the board. For example, aside from Taiwan's investment in Mainland on a large scale, Ma's government issued permission to Chinese investors to join Taiwan's stock market. Meanwhile, with this open policy, direct flights between the two initiated in 2003 was regularized since 2008 under Ma's presidency. Chinese people were also allowed and even encouraged to travel to Taiwan for short-term visits for the purpose of economic benefit. With the passage of time, cross-Strait interactions have become wide and deep, yet are taken for granted, while also serving as the source of both conflict and cooperation.

Taiwanese People Moving to Mainland China

Owing to the economic development of China and increasingly common cross-Strait interactions, a great number of people in Taiwan have moved to Mainland China for various reasons, notably economic and educational. Such a movement of population across the Strait has resulted in unanticipated and widely debated economic, social, and cultural impacts on both China and Taiwan.

Regarding economic migration, numerous Taiwanese businessmen have moved their businesses to China for cheap labor and access to China's huge economic market, or for more

employment opportunities. To date, total direct investment of Taiwanese businessmen has amounted to USD 122.3 billion, which accounts for 14.34 percent of China's total direct foreign investment.[4] Despite lack of official statistics, it is estimated that there are nearly one million Taiwanese people (ROC citizens) residing in Mainland China – the same number that originally relocated there after 1949.[5] These Taiwanese residents in the Mainland, usually traveling across the Strait, are regarded as "transmigrants" in this study.

Aside from pursuing business purposes, some Taiwanese people, mostly those of college age, have migrated to Mainland China for their education. The growing power of China and its globally high-ranking elite universities have motivated an increasing number of Taiwanese students at college and post-graduate levels to study in the Mainland in recent years for achieving their "Chinese dreams." It is estimated that eight thousand students from Taiwan study in Mainland colleges.[6] A survey shows that China is the second most-preferred study-abroad destination among Taiwanese people, the first being the United States.[7] With more Taiwanese students studying in the Mainland, it is also interesting to see the reverse trend on the other side of the Strait. Since 2011, when Chinese college students were permitted to study in Taiwan as short-term exchange students, the number of Chinese exchange students in Taiwan educational

[4] Hung, J., & Tung, C. (2011). Contribution of Taiwanese businesspeople towards the economic development of China: 1998-2008. *Graduate Institute of Development Studies*. National Chengchi University. Retrieved from http://www3.nccu.edu.tw/~ctung/Documents/W-B-b-31.pdf

[5] Mainland Affairs Council (2014). Report of overseas workers in the latest five years. Retrieved from http://lis.ly.gov.tw/lydb/uploadn/103/1030421/22.pdf

[6] Chang, F. Y. (2014, May 15). Who is in the way of Taiwanese students from studying abroad? [Blog post]. Retrieved from http://blog.chinatide.net/fangyuan/?p=363

[7] Zang, S. Y. (September, 2005). Are you tempted to study abroad in China? Career. Retrieved from http://blog.career.com.tw/managing/default_content.aspx?blogid=143

institutions in 2014 exceeded 2,500.[8] Likewise, in 2013, there were over 111 Chinese universities acknowledged by the Taiwanese government. This intense educational interchange between China and Taiwan has resulted in lively debates throughout Taiwanese society regarding topics of Chinese higher education certification by the Taiwan educational authority as well as the policy of comprehensive openness to Chinese students studying in Taiwan.

To sum up, today a large population of young people in Mainland China and Taiwan move across the Strait to study, both voluntarily and involuntarily. This study focuses on the latter, in that the 12- to 17-year-old adolescent children of Taiwanese businessmen interviewed herein have been brought to Mainland China to keep the family together. To explain the challenging contexts of transmigrant youths' cross-Strait school experiences and related identification, I introduce the two educational systems of Taiwan and China.

Snapshot of the Educational Systems of Taiwan and China

Taiwan's educational system.

In Taiwan, the education system has gone through many reforms in recent years, and each reform is mainly aimed at reducing students' academic pressure and providing them with more educational opportunities and channels, a trend driven by the goal of educational equality. Compulsory education in Taiwan includes six years of elementary school education, three years of middle school education, and three years of high school or vocational school education (Figure 3-1). Currently, all middle school students are required to take "The Basic Competence Test for Junior High School Students" in order to determine which high schools they will attend.

[8] Commission of Recruiting Chinese Students in Taiwan (2014). Retrieved from http://rusen.stust.edu.tw/cpx/Data.html

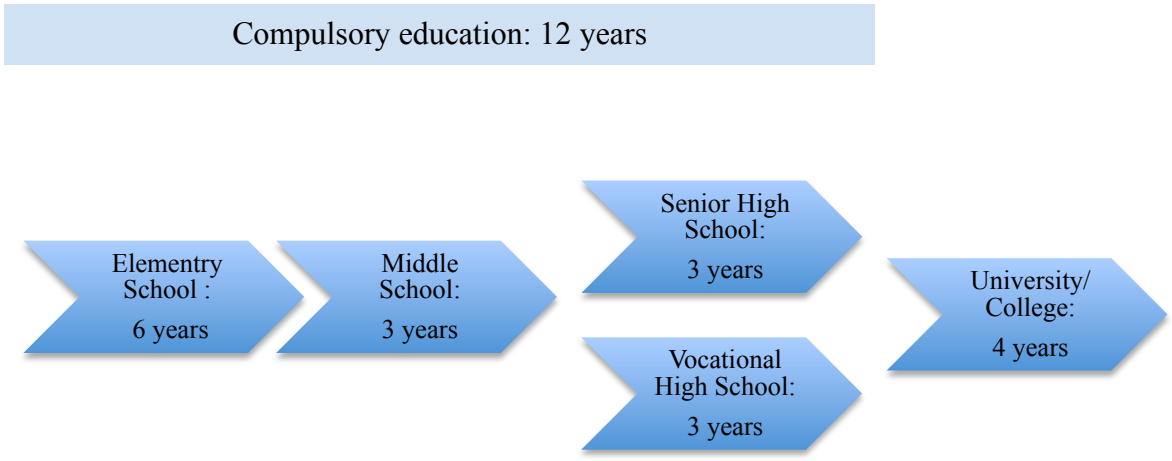
Students in high schools or vocational schools have two opportunities to take the "College Entrance Examination" and/or "Advanced Subjects Test" for college admissions, or they can apply for special admission without taking either exam. Owing to various channels through which students can enter college, nearly one hundred percent of high school or vocational school graduates who want to continue their studies are able to attend institutions of higher education.

China's educational system.

Similar to Taiwan, China's education system is composed of six years of elementary education, three years of middle school education, three years of high or vocational school education, and four years of higher education (Figure 3-1). Differently, the compulsory education in China is nine years, and a two- or three- year college education is also offered. In order to attend high schools, all ninth graders in China are required to take the "Senior High School Entrance Examination," and high school graduates need to take the "College Entrance Examination (*gao kao*)" if they want to continue their education. The College Entrance Examination in China is highly competitive, and the college enrollment rate in 2012 was 74.86 percent of high school graduates.[9] Aside from the *gao kao*, there are several other examination options for non-Chinese citizens entering college. For instance, the "Recruit Overseas Chinese, Hong Kong, Macao and Taiwan Student Examination Combined (HMT College Entrance Exam)" is designed for and open to all students with Overseas Chinese, Hong Kong, Macao and Taiwan backgrounds. This special examination is much less competitive than the *gao kao*; therefore, all high school graduates with a Taiwanese background taking this examination have more opportunities than their Chinese counterparts to matriculate in highly ranked universities.

[9] China Education and Research Network (2013, May 7). Retrieved from http://www.edu.cn/gao_kao_1051/20130507/t20130507_939505.shtml

Taiwan:



China:

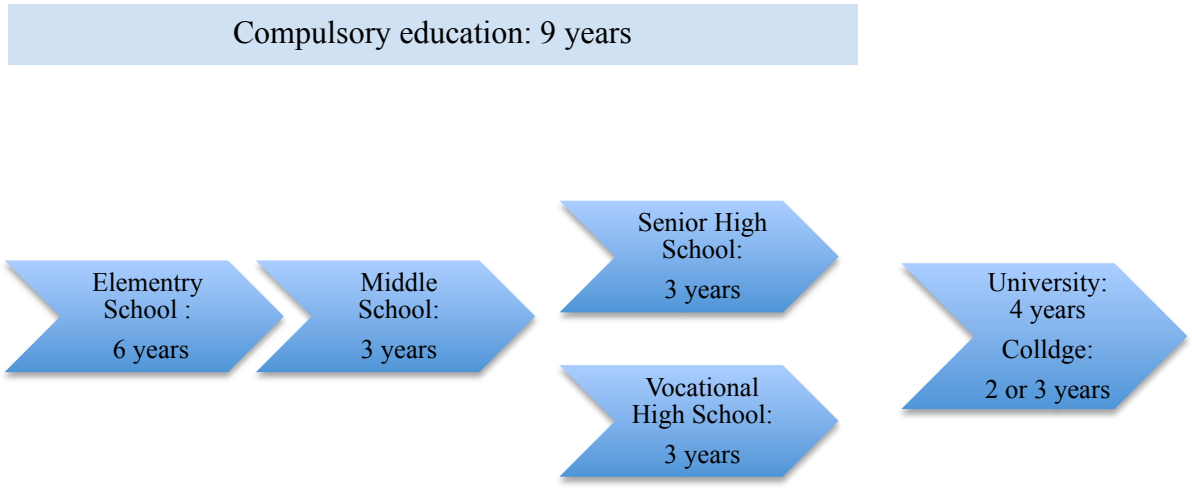


Figure 3-1: Educational Systems in Taiwan and China

Schooling of Taiwanese transmigration youth in China.

As more Taiwanese businessmen relocate their children in local communities after settling in Mainland China, the educational needs of their children have become a critical concern for parents. In order to attract and retain Taiwanese investment, the Chinese government issued the Law of the People's Republic of China on Protection of Investment by Compatriots From Taiwan (台灣同胞投資保護法實施條例) in 1997 and its following implementation rules[10] in 1999. This law provided the children of Taiwanese businessmen with a legitimate basis for their local schooling, and also for the establishment of three Taiwanese businessmen's schools in the Mainland.

Such Taiwanese students from elementary to high school levels, per the high school participants in my study, have three schooling options in the Mainland: local Chinese schools, international schools, and Taiwanese businessmen's schools (yet there is no official record showing the dispersion of Taiwanese students in these three types of schools or across regions of China). These three offerings are slightly differentiated according to educational level. To accommodate various educational demands of Taiwanese families, some local Chinese schools have developed, in addition to their regular programs, offer international programs consisting of the HMT and international classes (Figure 3-2).

[10]Rules for Implementation of The Law of The People's Republic of China on Protection of Investments by Taiwan Compatriots [中華人民共和國台商同胞投資保護法實施細則] (2011, January 6). Retrieved from http://www.gwytb.gov.cn/tbqy/protect/detail/201101/t20110106_1678322.htm

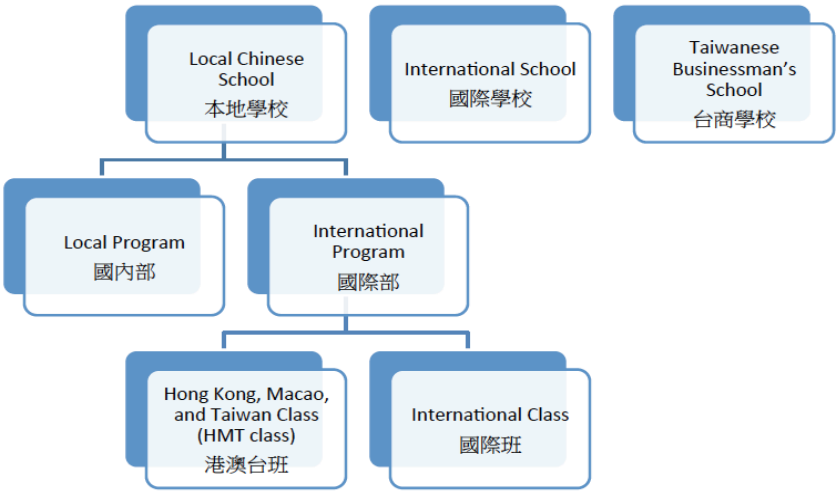


Figure 3-2: Schooling Options of Taiwanese High School Students in Mainland China

Compared to international schools that recruit students holding foreign passports coming from families with high socioeconomic status, the vast majority of Taiwanese students are sent to local schools and Taiwanese businessmen's schools. Those Taiwanese parents choose schooling primarily based on economic resources, future plans for the entire family as well as children, perceived educational values of the school, and availability of different schooling options.

Among all options, local programs with a student body made up of a majority of local Chinese students are the most challenging to Taiwanese high school students due to their heavy academic load. The HMT class, recruiting students from Hong Kong, Macao, and Taiwan, offers special courses to help students prepare for the HMT College Entrance Exam. Some Taiwanese high school students attending other schools may transfer to the HMT class during 12th grade for specific exam training. International classes enroll students from Taiwan and other countries, such as Korea and Japan. Chinese and English are the two main languages used in the program, and all the courses are taught by foreign teachers and local Chinese teachers who may have studied abroad. Yet some international classes also recruit local Chinese students who plan to

study abroad in college. While Taiwanese students in Mainland China have various schooling options, the quality of classes, programs, and schools varies significantly.

Businessmen's school in Mainland China.

Taiwanese businessmen's schools are another choice for Taiwanese students on the Mainland. Very different from the aforementioned schools, Taiwanese businessmen's schools recruit only students who hold passports issued by the Taiwan government, and those without such passports are not allowed to attend the schools. Three Taiwanese businessmen's schools had been established by 2008 in coastal cities in southeastern China following numerous negotiations with the Chinese central government and local educational authorities. The main purposes of these schools are to serve Taiwanese businessmen's children, to provide them with an educational option different from local Chinese or international schools, to help them stay connected with the structure and goals of the Taiwanese educational system, and to continue their advanced study when they return to Taiwan. To these ends, Taiwanese businessmen's schools recruit teachers from Taiwan with proper qualifications in order to meet the requirements and expectations set by the educational system in Taiwan.

Owing to the geographic separation of these schools from Taiwan's educational bureaucracy and its location in the territory of China, the three Taiwanese businessmen's schools have been under scrutiny imposed by both wary Chinese and Taiwanese officials. Concerns with the schools' political orientation have made the Taiwan government reluctant to provide the schools with resources and support, which in turn has led to the promulgation of "Regulation for the Formation and Operation of Taiwanese Businessman's School in Mainland China (大陸地區台商學校設立及輔導辦法)" by the Taiwan Ministry of Education in 2003. In other words, the

schools are regulated by Taiwan's government, and supervised by China's government. For example, each Taiwanese businessmen's school is required to employ an experienced local Chinese educational administrator as the vice principal, serving as its supervisor and representing China's educational authority. Additionally, all Taiwanese businessmen's schools must employ the same ratio of teachers and administrators from Taiwan and the Mainland. Most of the Chinese employees turn out to serve as administrators rather than teachers in the three schools, however. Most importantly, while all textbooks used in Taiwanese businessmen's schools are imported from Taiwan, they have to be examined by the Chinese government for "politically inappropriate content." Specifically, before the textbooks can be used in the classroom, all textbook contents dealing with "sensitive issues," such as civil rights, democracy, regimes of Taiwan and China, electoral politics, and certain parts of contemporary Chinese history, must be crossed out, blackened, or literally torn out. As a result of such censorship, students at Taiwanese businessmen's schools are requested by the Taiwan government to return to Taiwan for certain truncated courses. These students need to attend the "intensive supplementary social science program" during their summer vacation in Taiwan in order to develop solid understandings of the materials that have been censored by the Chinese government, and to further strengthen their familiarity with Taiwan and their "national identity."

Preliminary Fieldwork in 2007

My first fieldtrip to study the establishment and operation of Taiwan businessmen's schools involved research at: (1) Dongguan School in Dongguan, Guangdong Province, (2) Taishang Taiwan Businessmen's School in Kunshan, Jiangsu Province, and (3) Shanghai Taiwanese Children's School in Shanghai. I chose these schools because they were the only Taiwan

businessmen's schools operating in Mainland China at the time. To gain access to the schools, I contacted the school administrators via emails and phone calls, and I explained my status as a Ph.D. student at Indiana University and my research agenda (e.g. planned research activities and measures intended to protect research subjects' identities and privacy). After several rounds of communication, I obtained the schools' approval to conduct the proposed research.

Between May and June 2007, I conducted preliminary fieldwork at the three schools and attained three main research objectives. First, I familiarized myself with the environments and operations of the schools, and also their surrounding neighborhoods and local communities. Despite similar organizational structures and course arrangements, the three schools applied different operational methods for cooperating with their students' parents and teachers in order to meet the educational demands of Taiwanese transmigrant youth. Moreover, the three schools are located in very different socio-cultural environments that also impact students' interactions with people in communities and local society. As a result of such contacts, I gained a more complete understanding of the different cultures surrounding the three schools and their communities.

Secondly, I carried out participant observation in the schools at three levels: elementary, middle, and high schools. I sat in a number of classes, involving a wide range of subject matter, such as Chinese language, history, geography, civics, English, mathematics, chemistry, and music. Most of my in-class observations lasted between forty-five to fifty minutes, in which I examined face-to-face interactions between students and teachers with a particular focus on attending to their verbal and nonverbal exchanges. This avenue of research is particularly interesting in terms of the complex dialect shifts found in their daily communications at school. I also learned how different course subjects were taught in the students' classes.

To further refine my research project, I conducted pilot individual interviews with three

groups of stakeholders: administrators and teachers, students, and parents. Interviews with the Taiwanese principal and Chinese vice principal of the three schools, along with other administrators, helped me develop a broader understanding of the current situations and future prospects of the three schools. The teachers whom I interviewed taught various course subjects from elementary, middle and high school levels, respectively. Toward the end of my preliminary fieldwork, I conducted a total of 18 exploratory interviews with teachers, where each interview lasted approximately 45-60 minutes. During interviews, aside from learning about teachers' socio-demographic backgrounds and work experience, I took the opportunity to elicit their feedback on my research questions (e.g. what kind of experiences at Taiwanese businessmen schools may influence students' self-identification? How do schools convey "legitimized" knowledge and ideologies to students? How can I best engage students in my research?) Their invaluable responses helped me form better ideas of how to further initiate or revise my research plans.

Since I intended to generally explore Taiwanese students' transmigrant experiences, the second group of subjects comprised students from primary to high school levels. These interviews, typically ranging from 45-60 minutes, included three main components. First, I raised questions about students' age, family background, educational experience, religious beliefs, extracurricular activities, and so on. In doing so, I gained knowledge of the basic socio-demographic information of the student body at the three schools. Secondly, I broadly explored students' experiences of their transmigration between Mainland China and Taiwan. This inquiry offered me a glimpse into students' skills and challenges in adapting to Taiwanese businessmen's schools and within the larger sociocultural environments. Finally, through pilot interviews I probed students' efforts to be integrated into peer groups and local communities.

This approach provided me with a general sense of their attempts at retaining connections with friends and families in Taiwan. In the end, I recruited 39 students at different levels (eight students at the elementary school level, 13 students at the junior high school level, and 18 high school students).

The third group of research subjects that I interviewed included parents who have children attending the three Taiwanese businessmen's schools. There were 11 parents (eight mothers and three fathers) recruited, and each interview took 45-60 minutes. Aside from demographic information, they also shared with me their families' experiences of living in two places across the Strait and their concerns about their children's education. I also had several opportunities to do family visitations that enabled me to observe first-hand their family lives in the Mainland. Yet, all exploratory data I had collected during my preliminary research period were not included in this dissertation, as I learned to not directly ask my research participants about their identities, and in turn revised my interview questions for the dissertation fieldwork.

Overall, my preliminary fieldwork allowed me to gain access to appropriate field sites, further develop my research agenda, and identify methodological and practical issues that I was not aware of before entering the field. Moreover, my trip enabled me to narrow down my study to one particular school: Taishang Taiwanese Businessmen's School. I chose this school as the main research site for geographic and student demographic reasons. First, compared to Dongguan School that is located in a small town in Guangdong, Taishang being in the large city of Shanghai provides students with more activity space outside of their school. Also, Dongguan students' parents are mostly factory managers or owners, but Taishang students' parents represent relatively diverse career backgrounds. The variety of parents' careers is found to enrich students' social networks and cultural activities. Furthermore, different from Shanghai School,

Taishang has more students, particularly middle and high school students, who could become my main research subjects.

In addition to a Taiwanese businessmen's school, I chose a local school as a comparative site for the study. Aside from Taiwanese businessmen's schools, the local Chinese school is another schooling system with a large portion of transmigrant youth student body. Therefore, to come to a more comprehensive understanding of young transmigrants' school lives and beyond, I chose Taishang School (a Taiwanese businessmen's school) and Mingdao School (a local private Chinese school) as two school sites for my research.

As a researcher with a Taiwanese background, it was nearly impossible for me to gain access to a local public Chinese school for research purposes, particularly given my politically sensitive research topic. In view of this consideration, the private Chinese school became my only option. Fortunately, by accompanying some faculty members from Indiana University to visit Mingdao for the purpose of cultural and educational exchange in 2008, I had the opportunity to get to know some high-ranking administrators of Mingdao. After numerous emails back and forth, I was granted access to do my fieldwork in Mingdao in 2009.

Research Sites: Taishang and Mingdao

Taishang School

Taishang Taiwanese Businessmen's School was founded by Ting Chung Chen in 1998, and formally recognized by the Ministry of Education in Taiwan the following year. However, the school did not become fully operational until after it obtained permission from both Chinese and Taiwanese authorities in 2001. Located in the suburb of Huaqiao Town connecting Kunshan and Shanghai, the school is surrounded by a large number of Taiwanese factories and local

enterprises. As the largest Taiwanese businessmen's school in the region, Taishang attracts Taiwanese students from nearby cities and towns, particularly those from Jiangsu Province and Shanghai. In recent years, the school established new campuses in Suzhou City and Suqian City, thereby boosting its influences in the Greater Shanghai Area.

Operating as a private boarding school, Taishang Taiwanese businessmen's school consists of a kindergarten, an elementary school, a junior high school, and a senior high school. Despite the foregoing restriction on enrollment, the student body at Taishang reached nearly a thousand in 2008-2009. As a private overseas boarding school, Taishang charged each student approximately USD 4,000 per semester; each student could be reimbursed about USD 400 by the Taiwanese government for tuition.

The vast majority of the teachers at Taishang came from Taiwan and carried a passport issued by the Taiwanese government. Moreover, their backgrounds could be divided into three categories: the first group consisted of young Taiwanese who moved to the Mainland to seek out employment opportunities. The second group mainly consisted of retired teachers who took jobs at Taiwanese businessmen's schools as a practical way to extend their careers. Teachers in the third group were primarily the spouses of Taiwanese businessmen. Due to their husbands' relocation to Mainland China, they decided to follow suit and subsequently obtained positions at the schools. Notably, less than ten percent of the teachers at the three schools were PRC citizens, where citizens of the PRC were mainly in charge of "non-core course" subjects, such as music, art, and physical education.

Students in Taishang have a regular and strict daily schedule to follow (Table 3-1).

Table 3-1

Daily Schedule of Taishang School

6:00	Wake up call
6:30 - 7:30	Exercise and have breakfast
7:30 - 8:00	Morning study time
8:00 - 12:00	4 Classes
12:00 - 13:00	Lunch time
13:00 - 17:00	4 Classes
17:00 - 18:00	Free time
18:00 - 19:00	Dinner time
19:00 - 21:00	Night study time
22:30	Lights out

Mingdao School

The second private school I closely examined was Mingdao School, also a boarding school. Located in New Songjiang District, Mingdao enjoys unique geographic advantages, where it attracts middle- and upper middle-class students from Shanghai, Zhejiang, and Jiangsu Provinces. Similar to Taishang, Mingdao recruits students from elementary to high school levels. There were approximately two thousand students enrolled in Mingdao at the time of my research. As a school with connections to several domestic and overseas universities, Mingdao School aims to provide a learner-centered environment and a global perspective by combining educational resources and methods from both Eastern and Western cultures. Its external educational resources and thus support provide certain advantages in its competition with other private boarding schools in the region.

Mingdao is different from Taishang School in certain aspects. In addition to local Chinese, Mingdao recruits students from non-Chinese citizen households, including Taiwanese, Korean, and Chinese-American pupils. There were nearly one hundred students who held Taiwanese

passports at the time of my research. Aside from the vast majority of students studying in the local program, Mingdao had just begun its international program in 2008. There was only one international class at the 10th grade level, which had 26 students, including two students from Taiwan, two Korean students, and 22 local Chinese students who planned to study abroad. The international class used textbooks generally imported from Canada, significantly different from local Chinese textbooks used in the local program.

Students in Mingdao like their Taishang counterparts have to follow a fixed daily schedule (Table 3-2).

Table 3-2

Daily Schedule of Mingdao School

6:00	Wake up call
6:30 - 7:30	Exercise and have breakfast
7:30 - 8:00	Morning study time or Flag-raising ceremony
8:00 - 12:00	4 Classes
12:00 - 13:00	Lunch time
13:00 - 17:00	4 Classes
17:00 - 17:30	Free time
17:30 - 18:30	Dinner time
18:30 - 20:30	Night study time
22:00	Lights out

Overall, there are major differences between Taishang and Mingdao. All students in Taishang are from Taiwan, and the vast majority of the students at Mingdao are Chinese citizens. Likewise, most Taishang teachers are Taiwanese, compared to teachers in Mingdao consisting of mostly teachers originally from Shanghai and other parts of Mainland China. Also, all curricula in Taishang follow those used in Taiwan, and all textbooks in Taishang that students use are imported from Taiwan, even though they have to be censored by China's educational authority.

Yet Mingdao, like all other local Chinese schools, uses local Chinese curricula and textbooks in its program. More importantly, Taishang is supervised by both Chinese and Taiwanese governments, but Mingdao is regulated only by the Chinese authorities. These two schools provide my research with clear contrasts of student composition, teachers' background, textbook and curriculum, and governing body, which enriched my examination of Taiwanese transmigrants' identity, allowing me to better appreciate how different educational settings influence the student experience.

Dissertation Fieldwork between 2008 and 2009

To address the research questions proposed in the introduction, I conducted this two-sited ethnographic study between September 2008 and July 2009. Part of the study was conducted in Taishang Taiwanese Businessmen's School (September, 2008-June, 2009, two semesters), part in Mingdao School (February-June 2009, one semester), and additionally, I carried out fieldwork in Taiwan during students' summer breaks in July 2009. In Taiwan, I mainly "hung out" with students who lived in the Taipei area, the northern part of Taiwan, to observe their social interactions with people in their community and in the large society. I applied the following research methods: (1) in-depth individual interviews and semi-structured focus group interviews, (2) participant observations (classroom and school observations, and family and community visits), and (3) content analysis of textbooks, governmental documents, and news articles.

In-depth Interviews and Focus-group Interviews

Schoolteachers constituted the first group of respondents I interviewed in the field. To recruit respondents in this group, I reached out to teachers at Taishang and Mingdao and made

individual interview requests in person. In my selection of teachers, I tried to include those coming from different generations, teaching experience, sex, and course subjects. My interviews with Taiwanese teachers went smoothly in Taishang, where I recruited 15 Taiwanese teachers (ten female teachers and five male teachers). Due to the small number of Chinese teachers in Taishang, I recruited three Chinese teachers as my research participants, but only one was willing to let me record the interview. Each formal interview generally lasted 45-60 minutes. Yet I conducted a great number of informal interviews with other teachers during my fieldwork period by chatting with them during mealtimes, class breaks, and also when we took school buses to downtown Shanghai or when we enjoyed each other's company on weekends. The questions I asked the Taishang teachers included several components. First, I asked the teachers to share with me their observations regarding the differences between Taishang students and their counterparts in Taiwan and Shanghai. Second, I tried to understand their thoughts on the influences of school activities, curricula, and textbooks on students' identification. Third, I asked the teachers about their observations on the impact of students' families, community involvement, and social interactions with peers and two societies on their identity. Fourth, I asked for their insights on how students' transmigrant experiences had affected their lives and thinking.

In contrast to my interviews with Taiwanese teachers in Taishang, it was very challenging for me, as a researcher with a Taiwanese background, to interview Chinese teachers in Mingdao regarding Taiwanese students' identification. I had tried to invite Mingdao teachers for interviews, but a teacher close to me suggested that I not do formal interviews with teachers. I therefore adopted informal interviews with various teachers in Mingdao, when I had lunch and dinner with them and also during class breaks at school, and when I spent time with some young

teachers outside school. I mainly asked the teachers about their observations of the differences between local students and students coming from different areas. From their comments, I further elicited more thoughts regarding their Taiwanese students' learning motivations, academic performance, situations of adaption, and interactions with peers in school. Aside from informal interviews, I took detailed field notes to record teachers' conversations involving Taiwanese students.

Parents also comprised another important group of respondents in my research. I usually recruited parents' participation through my student participants. I tried to involve parents with different employment, political, and ethnic backgrounds, as well as marital composition. The purpose of having parents with a variety of backgrounds was to examine the influences of those family features on students' attitudes towards cross-Strait societies, language use, and their moving trajectories into the future. Most of the parent interviews were conducted during my family visits on weekends. Through these visits, I attended various family activities, such as dining, shopping, attending community events, gatherings with relatives and friends, and so on. These activities in turn rendered my attempt at interviewing parents much less intrusive, and also enriched my observations of families' daily lives in the Mainland. During the interviews, after making an inquiry into their personal and familial information, I mainly focused on their children's educational experiences in Mainland China, adjustment processes during their transmigration, and (dis)connections with Taiwan.

Aside from individual and couple interviews and family visits, I conducted interviews with parent groups. Through these group interviews assembled by some of my parent participants, I learned about the social networking of transmigrant families who shared common educational concerns about their children in different schools and at various levels. There were three to seven

parents, usually mothers, in each group interview. I visited fourteen families, and six parents' group interviews were conducted. There were 52 parents recruited in total (43 mothers and nine fathers).

In addition, I conducted a large number of interviews with students at Taishang, Mingdao, and other schools. Different approaches were adopted to recruit student participants. Since students at Taishang were all from Taiwan, I went to each class to introduce myself and explain my research topic after receiving permission from the school, and distributed consent forms for their parents to sign. During the recruitment process, I first explained to students that the purpose of my research was to understand their growing experiences in both Taiwan and China, particularly within families, schools, and communities, and how they deal with challenges resulting from cross-Strait movement and learning to adjust in their new environments and cultures. I also emphasized that once students agreed to be part of my research, I would interview them one to three times, approximately 40-60 minutes each time. At Mingdao, due to the small population of students with Taiwan backgrounds, I wanted to avoid shining a spotlight on them in front of their Chinese peers. I thus asked teachers for a name list of Taiwanese students at each level, and approached them individually.

In order to construct a rather comprehensive understanding of Taiwanese transmigrant youth, I recruited student participants attending different programs at other schools as well. For those participants, I used a snowballing approach that involved introductions by the students, teachers, and parents I had met. I contacted those target subjects individually through social media, emails, or phone calls. All student participants were interviewed after receiving their parents' consent. I interviewed all students who returned their consent forms signed by their parents individually the first time. I narrowed down and focused on some students for follow-up personal

interviews and group interviews based on their family backgrounds, schools attended, history of transmigration, and personal capabilities of articulation and reflection. Both individual and group interviews were applied to this research. Through individual interviews, my participants were able to share their deep thoughts and reflections with me in detail, and group interviews stimulated students' further reflections through other's comments on the same topic. I mainly interviewed students at Taishang and Mingdao during their lunchtime, dinnertime, or evening study periods with their teachers' approval, and those at other schools during weekends. As the college students I interviewed primarily moved to the Mainland at an early age, their reflections particularly enriched my research since they helped me understand the longer adjustment and identification paths of transmigrant youth.

Through these active and at times challenging recruitment efforts, I was able to conduct interviews with a total of 60 students at Taishang and 21 students at Mingdao, as well as 32 students at other schools. In addition to students at the middle school level, I also interviewed nine college students through snowball recruitment[11] (Table 3-3).

[11] Among these research participants, the words and experiences of some individual students are used in this research, and major themes emerging from my data analysis and conclusions are illustrated throughout Chapter 4, 5, and 6 in this dissertation. I did not choose these individuals as representative of positions, but rather to depict the specificity and diversity of transmigrant lives. I observed and interviewed many students during my fieldwork, and these students emerged as individuals with insightful stories, allowing me to understand and share the rich lives of transmigrant youth.

Table 3-3

Recruited Numbers of Student Participants in the study

School Category	Program Type	Class Type	Middle School Level	High School Level	College Level
Taishang			Male 1 Female 1	Male 25 Female 33	Male 4 Female 5
Local school	Local program		Male 6 Female 11	Male 11 Female 7	
	International program	HMT class	X	Male 5 Female 7	
		International class	X	Male 3 Female 3	

Participant Observation

During the year of my fieldwork, I observed students within their schools during weekdays and outside of school within their families, communities, and cross-Strait societies during weekends and summer vacations.

Observation within schools.

Within the schools of Taishang and Mingdao, I observed students' lives in and after class, and at daytime and nighttime. Classroom observations were mainly conducted in the classes of history, civics/politics, geography, and Chinese Literature, along with some visits to the classrooms of other course subjects. Due to different course content arrangements, I usually sat in on high school classes at Taishang and middle school classes at Mingdao. Classroom observation enabled me to closely observe how textbook contents, particularly politically sensitive topics, were taught by teachers, as well as how teachers explained those materials from their perspectives and how students reacted to this "legitimized" knowledge. In addition, I paid close attention to interactions between students and teachers and among students themselves,

particularly when the issues or events related to Taiwan, China, or local Shanghai area were brought up. Through observing class dynamics at Taishang, I learned how Taiwanese textbook knowledge is delivered and applied in the larger China context, and how students interpreted their observations on cross-Strait societies to respond to various topics discussed in class. At Mingdao, sitting in classes enabled me to observe the interactions of Taiwanese students, as the minority in class, with their Chinese teachers and peers, particularly regarding politically sensitive topics. Also, learning of legitimized knowledge taught in local Chinese schools gave me abundant resources that I then discussed with my research participants in individual or group interviews. Aside from the classroom, I observed students' other school activities, such as school fairs, singing competitions, and the flag-raising ceremony. Through various school activities, I was able to have a better understanding of my research participants' social interactions with others in different occasions, and also learn more about school cultures and educational values of Taishang and Mingdao.

Besides these two main school sites, some of my student participants attending other schools brought me to their schools during weekends to observe their classroom, dorms, and other facilities. I even observed one HMT class by mingling with students for half a day during a weekend when they had an extra class day. That special half-day enabled me to gain a different perspective on class culture and peer relations at Taishang and Mingdao. The HMT class I visited was in a local public high school, composed of approximately 30-40 high school seniors, among whom over half were Taiwanese citizens. Like students in Taishang, the students in this class do not need to wear uniforms. Most of them acted casually in class, talking, texting, sleeping, or even throwing paper balls to each other, and only the students who chose to sit in the first few rows seemed to be listening to the lecture. During most of the class time, teachers

lectured and students took notes. Very little extra communication took place between teachers and students in and after class. No one asked any questions in those four classes that I observed. Also, after each class was dismissed, no students approached the teacher. All teachers mostly left the classroom promptly without having conversations with students either. Regular local textbooks were not used in the HMT class much, but a few learning materials for the HMT examination preparation were sometimes distributed in class.

During my fieldwork period, I lived in school dormitories at Taishang and Mingdao with female students and some teachers on campus. Living in students' dorms enabled me to observe students' lives in relaxed, informal, and un-monitored situations. At Taishang, I mostly lived alone in one room, and students came to my room to chat, watch TV, or do their homework nearly every night. Some students felt more relaxed to share their stories with me in the dorm. During the second semester of my fieldwork, I added Mingdao as my comparative site, requiring that I live at Taishang two days and at Mingdao three days a week. At Mingdao, I shared one room with a young Chinese teacher in her mid-20s. Living with her gave me an invaluable opportunity to learn more about local school culture and lore, so to speak, and also more importantly, she shared with me many of her and other teachers' comments about Taiwanese students. While living in the Mingdao school dorm, I often went to female students' rooms during their free activity time to observe Taiwanese students' interactions with their Chinese peers. The casual setting relaxed my participants and Chinese students, and their conversations between each other, where both the beyond-school and class topics that they usually talked about in school during the daytime enabled me to understand more deeply the complexity of their interests, concerns, and youth cultures.

Family and community observation.

Weekends were usually the time that I used to "hang out" with my student participants and sometimes with their friends, or visit their families. Since most of my student participants were required to stay at school during weekdays, Saturday and Sunday were the only days of the week during which they could meet friends, participate in extra-curricular activities, or join in on family events. Such family and community observations enabled me to take note of their family lives in the Mainland and also their social interactions with others beyond family and school. During my family visits, usually lasting two to six hours, I interviewed my student participants' parents and siblings, observed their family routines, and joined their family events. I also had several opportunities to be invited to stay over at my student participants' houses, allowing me to be further involved in their lives and to observe their weekend routines. Beyond family and school, through their social activities during weekends (e.g. birthday parties, dinner gatherings, and shopping activities), I was also able to observe their social interactions with school peers outside the school setting and to explore their social networking beyond school groups. Also, observing their social interactions with local people during weekends enriched my understanding of their lives in the host society. Similarly, during the first month of their summer vacation in July 2009, I met several student participants in Taiwan in order to observe their social behaviors, activities, and interactions with local people in Taiwan. The multiple-site observations enabled me to chart their cross-Strait lives and better appreciate just how much my subjects were on the move.

Textbook Content Analysis

Curricula and textbooks are regarded as one of the main vehicles whereby states convey their cultural and political ideologies to reinforce young citizens' attitudes and identities (Apple, 1993b; Giroux, 2000). In light of the roles that textbooks play in shaping young citizens' identities, I examined the teaching materials used by Taiwanese businessmen's schools and local schools respectively. By 2008, a total of 262 textbooks in 43 subjects (six kinds of textbooks per subject on average) were officially approved and published in Mainland China.[12] Similarly, Taiwan's textbooks are generally available in six or seven versions for each subject published by different publishers.[13] The textbooks used in both schools were one of the most popularly adopted versions in Mainland China and Taiwan, respectively. China and Taiwan's governments both require that all textbooks must be submitted to relevant authorities for publishing approval. Neither China's nor Taiwan's governments address any specific or objective standards of censorship in laws, however. For example, in China's "Regulation of Curriculum Design and Evaluation on Elementary, Middle and High School (中小學教材編寫審定管理辦法)," Article 24 on "Principles of Textbook Censorship" generally notes that textbooks have to accord with national laws, regulations, and policies, and also carry out the CCP's guiding principles for education, yet no details are provided. No principle philosophy or the foundation of textbook censorship is mentioned in Taiwan's educational laws.

Among existing textbooks, I focused on history and civics/politics textbooks in this study. These two subjects were selected because they tended to convey to students important ideas concerning the nation-state, national identity, politics, and historical events and figures. As many

[12] The Series of Elementary Education Textbooks Editorial Committee (2008). *The report of the selection of elementary and secondary school textbooks.* China: People's Education Press.
[13] National Academy of Educational Research (2014, December). Retrieved from http://review.naer.edu.tw/Bulletin/FA.php

scholars point out, official knowledge displayed in textbooks, particularly in history and civics textbooks, plays a critical role in shaping young people's identities.

With the similar goal of cultivating modern and loyal citizens, citizenship and patriotic education was taught under different subject titles in Mainland China and Taiwan, where textbook selection at the two private schools reflects the range of publishers (Table 3-4).

Table 3-4
Textbooks Selected for Analysis from Taishang and Mingdao School

	History Course	Civics & Politics Course
Taishang	Middle school: Social Studies (Nan-yi Books, 2008) High school: History (Lung-teng Cultural Co., 2008)	Middle school: Social Studies (Nan-yi Books, 2008) High school: Civics and Society (Lung-teng Cultural Co., 2008)
Mingdao	Middle school: Chinese History (East China Normal University Press, 2007) High school: Chinese History (East China Normal University Press, 2007)	Middle school: Moral Education (Shanghai Education Press, 2008) High school: Politics (Shanghai Education Press, 2008)

To analyze content, I used critical content analysis, a systematic and replicable method producing cultural and social themes and categories from the text (Krippendorff, 1980; Weber, 1990). Drawing upon Pingel's integrated textbook content analysis approach (1999), I analyzed these textbooks from linguistic, discursive, hermeneutic, visual, critical, and structural perspectives to evaluate what and how different ideologies are delivered to students. In the process of content analysis, I examined all textbooks of those course subjects listed above, and narrowed them down to the foci on contemporary Chinese history, Taiwan history, cross-Strait relations, political regime and politics, and so on. After using NVivo software for theme coding

of those selected chapter texts and images (i.e. photos and pictures), I examined what themes emerged in two sets of textbooks, and also compared how the same topics were similarly or differently presented and interpreted in the textbooks used in the two schools. Based on my comparison of textbook content, conflicting interpretations of certain aspects of China-Taiwan history and also opposite political ideologies provided in China's and Taiwan's textbooks were evident. I use data from my analysis sparingly in this study, however, primarily to articulate particular moments in classrooms that clarify the power (or sometimes lack thereof) of official school and unofficial teacher discourse in shaping the opinions and self-reflections of transmigrant youths.

Data Coding and Analysis

To analyze collected data, I used a hermeneutic-reconstructive approach (Carspecken, 1996, 1999) to integrate findings from interviews, observation field notes, and student essays. In brief, Carspecken's approach allows the researcher to bring out implicit meanings from interviews and social actions through intersubjective position-taking and meaning (re)construction. The purpose of hermeneutic-reconstructive analysis is to penetrate cultural and social relations, a particularly appropriate approach for examining the dynamic process of identification (Carspecken & Cordeiro, 1995).

During the data coding and analysis process, I mainly used the NVivo software program toassist my qualitative data analysis. Data I collected from my field study includes a great number of interviews, participant observation notes, textbooks, and students' essays.[14] After

[14] During my fieldwork, I learned that students' weekly journals they were required to write to report their reflections on school study and lives, and the essay assignments to specific titles given by teachers they wrote in Chinese literacy class, may be helpful to my understanding of

transcribing the vast majority of interviews, I used NVivo to code all interview transcriptions and to categorize all codes into various themes. When coding the transcriptions, I added analytic notes to those coded texts in the NVivo system by using the hermeneutic-reconstructive approach. I found it very challenging to connect codes to a meaningful theme, however. Also, due to the complexity of transcription contents, many transcription texts were coded into more than one theme. Yet those transcription texts, codes, analytic notes and emerging themes provided me with rather detailed examples and current patterns of youths' processes of identity formation. After the completion of transcription coding in NVivo, the same codes were applied to my hand-written field notes and students' hand-written essays, and more codes were created when needed. Based on key research questions, I chose what I considered the most salient themes emerging from my coded data and integrated those themes into different chapter topics. This study is organized from the re-contextualized coded data, and all descriptions and narratives are supported by abundant field data.

Main Fieldwork Challenges

Being a teacher and a researcher at two school sites demanded a great deal of my time and energy. In particular, fulfilling those double roles with a Taiwanese background at Mingdao was even more challenging. Not surprisingly, school-based ethnographic studies of education in China indicate that taking on a teaching role as an insider provides access to information not available to outsiders (Ross, 1993). Being a teacher, my role as an insider in these two schools indeed enabled me to closely observe my research participants, and also learn about the school's

---

their thinking and lives from broader perspectives. I thus asked for my student participants' permission at both Taishang and Mingdao to collect their weekly journals and essay books at the end of each semester. Yet owing to the need to limit the scope of my dissertation, those materials are not incorporated into my dissertation.

internal dynamics and cultures. Yet at Mingdao, I was also an outsider who had a different "political" (and cultural) background than other Chinese teachers in the school. I was somehow excluded because I had "no need" to participate in some school activities (e.g. teachers' weekly meetings) or to know about internal information (e.g. school's documents circulated in teachers' offices). In addition, at both schools, heavy teaching loads assigned by the school authorities took up a significant portion of my research time.

Due to the different cultures and requirements of the two schools and my own background, I needed to adopt various and flexible approaches to conduct my research at Taishang and Mingdao. Further, some planned research methods had to be revised according to the reality I faced in the field. For example, when contacting Mingdao for my research project, I was informed that there were many high school students from Taiwan. Yet a real discrepancy between this "large" number and what turned out to be the true figure necessitated that I recruit middle school students at Mingdao. In the end, the middle school student participants offered me an opportunity to understand transmigrant youth's lives at their early adolescent age, although in order to keep my focus on high school students as the main research participants of this study, I took great care to recruit more from other high schools in the area. Unfortunately, I did not have many opportunities to observe those students in school or other settings.

In sum, my research during this nearly one-year, multi-sited ethnographic study is designed and at times redesigned to explore and investigate the nuances of identification processes of Taiwanese transmigrant youth in their larger social and educational ecology. Interviews, school observations, and textbook analysis collectively enable to me to (re)construct the influences of the power of educational structure, particularly school authorities, on students' identity (trans)formation. Through my participant observations of the youth's everyday lives within and

beyond school settings, as well as the reflective narratives provided by my research subjects and other significant persons (e.g., parents, siblings, peers, and teachers), I am able to better understand how the transmigrant youth react to the imposed ideology as well as circulated cultural and social norms, particularly in their host society, and observe and analyze their daily practices as "Taiwanese" – an identification that they mostly claim. These two major methods that I draw upon also provide a broad angle from which to probe youths' social interactions with their in-groups and larger communities on both sides of the Strait. Through examining their social relations, I begin to explain if and how their identities are socially shaped and reshaped, and how their relationships with different groups construct and/or deconstruct their group as well as individual identities. Rooted in these research goals and by incorporating corresponding theories and research methods, I reconstruct the transmigrant lives of Taiwanese youth and reveal their identification processes in the following three chapters, respectively, with the foci on their political identification, group identification, and their identity (dis)orientation.

Chapter 4: Political Identity

"The Republic of China, founded on the Three Principles of the People, shall be a democratic republic of the people, to be governed by the people and for the people." Article 1, Chapter 1, Constitution of Republic of China

"The People's Republic of China is a socialist state under the people's democratic dictatorship led by the working class and based on the alliance of workers and peasants. The socialist system is the basic system of the People's Republic of China. Disruption of the socialist system by any organization or individual is prohibited."
Article 1, Chapter 1, Constitution of Republic of China

Introduction

Since I began this study, the question I have received most frequently from teachers, parents, government officials, and even scholars in both Taiwan and Mainland China is: "So, which side do these young Taiwanese students identify with – Taiwan or China?" This question presumes that young transmigrants must stand on one side or the other, that they must pick one of two identities that are dichotomous and opposed to each other.

The PRC's position on Taiwan is clearly inscribed in the Preamble of its Constitution, which states, "Taiwan is part of the sacred territory of the People's Republic of China. It is the inviolable duty of all Chinese people, including our compatriots in Taiwan, to accomplish the great task of reunifying the motherland." This establishes the most unquestionable and solid foundation for China's government to inculcate its one-China principle throughout both societies, within state institutional systems such as schools, and through social discourse. On the other

hand, people in Taiwan affirm Taiwan's sovereignty, which is generally acknowledged by the rest of the world. This position is not only a concept spread throughout society, but also the reality in which they live every day in all its myriad manifestations. These two basic opposing ideologies circulating among the Taiwanese and Chinese societies where Taiwanese transmigrant youths live and learn have created tremendous challenges for them, not only for their senses of belonging, but also more practically, in their everyday lives.

The concept of Taiwanese identity and the notion of Chinese identity have been highly politicized; identity within Taiwan or China seems to be a clear-cut political choice, particularly during times when Taiwan-China relations are tense. Indeed, in both Taiwanese and Mainland Chinese societies, both filled with strong political atmospheres but oppositional political ideologies, any political issues related to cross-Strait relations can be magnified and hotly debated. Young Taiwanese people who have traveled between, studied, and lived in both places are inevitably subjects who must grow up in a highly politicized atmosphere.

To present how young Taiwanese transmigrants conceive, form, or transform their political identity across the Strait, this chapter primarily focuses on their schools, spaces where definitions of legitimate political ideology, social discourses and interactions, and individuals interface. Specifically, I investigate the political identities of transmigrant youths to answer three main questions. First, from a top-down perspective, how is political ideology embedded in so-called "legitimate curricula" and delivered by school authorities through educational systems? Second, from the meso-level, what and how is political ideology (re) produced and propagated through social interactions in schools? And how do such social interactions occurring within schools and beyond influence the identification of the youth? Third and most important, from the micro-level, how do young people respond to received ideology, as well as disseminated social

discourse within and outside school, and how do they understand, manage, and perform their political identities in their daily school lives?

Political Ideology in School

As schools are often regarded as an educational apparatus through which the nation-state attempts to thoroughly and effectively impose its political ideology on its younger generations, school cultures, structures, curricula, textbooks, and teachers can thus be conceptualized as a means to deliver or spread such legitimated political identities (Althusser, 1971; Apple, 1993b; Bourdieu, 1994; Giroux, 2000; Williams, 1989). Undeniably, schools in both Taiwan and Mainland China play similar roles in shaping students' political ideologies to build national identities and loyalty to the nation-state (Lall & Vickers, 2009; Vickers & Jones, 2005), a phenomenon that is indeed found in virtually all world cultures.

Given the dominance of school in their lives as both an educational and political force (Apple, 1982; Giroux 1983), the transmigrant Taiwanese students in this study interact with different political ideologies through the three types of schools they attend in Mainland China. In Taiwanese businessmen's schools that recruit only students of Taiwanese nationality, students are assumed to be educated in an environment marked by so-called "Taiwanese identity" in alliance with most people in Taiwan. Youths who are educated through the local program of a Chinese school in contrast are surrounded by the dominant Chinese political ideology. The third type of schooling, an international program offered by local Chinese schools (including the HMT class and the international class), provides Taiwanese students with something in between, a semi-regimented school climate adhering to but leaving some space to negotiate Chinese political ideals.

The curricula and textbooks used in these different types of schools offer a rich research ground for exploring and examining how Taiwanese transmigrant youth form their political identifications. Because these schools have different goals and expectations for students' future lives as well as a divergent composition of students and teachers, a comparison among them also shows how young people interact with received and/or imposed political ideologies, their teachers and peers, and the daily regimens of their respective schools.

My First Day in Mingdao

In Mingdao School, a "semi-internationalized" local Chinese school, I was the only Taiwanese teacher and thus an outsider, coming for research purposes. While I had prepared to encounter politically sensitive situations before I began my fieldwork, this day at Mingdao School was full of political "surprises" that still rock me. Ironically, this experience served to epitomize my research topic in a highly personal manner. What occurred on this occasion thus helps situate the context of schooling for my research subjects and exemplifies some of the political challenges they deal with every day, and which I dealt with during my entire visit.

On my first day I was brought to a teachers' office by an assistant from the International Affairs Office to meet Jing, a young female teacher who was assigned as my "teacher mentor." Jing asked me to introduce myself to all the teachers who were present. Right after my brief self-introduction ended, a male teacher in his late forties or early fifties asked me candidly with a bright and clear voice, "Xiao Wang[15], sing 'Gaoshanqing (The Evergreen Mountains, 高山青[16])'

[15] "Xiao" literally means little or small, and placed in front of last name usually indicates closeness of the speaker (as well as assumption about age and status) to the interlocutor.
[16] The song, Gaoshangqing (The Evergreen Mountain, 高山青) describes the beautiful landscape and life of native people of Taiwan. Since this song is one of the very few folk songs which

to us!" – referring here to a very famous Taiwanese folk song, written in 1947 and sung in Mandarin. Meanwhile, other teachers around me were looking at me with interest waiting for my response. Right before I was about to respond to the teacher's request (or invitation), another male teacher in his early sixties, all of a sudden asked me another question about a corrupt Taiwan official who had been in the news: "Your Chen Shui-bian… What's wrong with him lately?[17] He upheld the independence of Taiwan. Do you, Taiwanese people, still support him?" Since I did not expect to be confronted with such a pointedly political question during my first meeting with these teachers, I could not think of anything to say, and stood there with an awkward and perhaps foolish smile on my face. A few minutes later, other teachers walked into the office as classes were dismissed, and the teacher who asked me to sing the song introduced me to those teachers, with his loud and bright voice again, saying, "Hey, Teacher Zhang, Teacher Gu, and Teacher Chen, this is our new teacher, Xiao Wang from Taiwan. She is our 'Taiwan compatriot'[18]! She will be here for one semester." Those teachers looked me up and down as they took their seats. I was "rescued" by another teacher coming in to make an announcement about a new school policy, about which all the teachers started to complain.

I was assigned a temporary job right away as a substitute for a 6th grade English class that day. After I introduced myself in Chinese in front of the class composed of more than 40 students wearing red scarves, one male student straightforwardly asked me, "Teacher,

---

describes Taiwan but was not banned in Mainland China, many people in China are familiar with this folk song.

[17] Chen Shui-bian, as the former President of ROC from 2000 to 2008, was prosecuted for corruption and abuse of authority in 2008 after he stepped down from office. His political scandals were widely reported by media in both Taiwan and Mainland China.

[18] Taiwan compatriot (台灣同胞), the term used by people in the Mainland to address people from Taiwan, indicates their close kinship, and further implies the politically indivisible and ultimate identity of Mainland China and Taiwan.

nishinaliren[19] (你是哪裡人)?" – a political form of "where are you from?" Another student then spoke to the whole class, saying, "She has a Taiwanese accent." I was hesitating and considering if I should say, "Wo shi taiwanren[20] (我是台灣人)" – I am Taiwanese, since this sentence would precisely and correspondingly answer the question while clearly indicating what I consider my political and *nation-state* identity. Instead I replied, "I come from Taiwan (我是從台灣來的)." After they heard my answer, some students talked to each other in low voices, and some looked at me with interest. Right after the class ended, three students came to me, and the first sentence I heard was, "Teacher, I am Taiwanese, too."

On the first day and afterwards, I repeatedly heard the term "Taiwan compatriot" whenever a teacher came to the office or when I met a new teacher in school. Interestingly, I gradually realized that I began to use that term to introduce myself. I thus intentionally adopted the term of "Taiwanese compatriot" with highly political meaning and national sentiment, used by Chinese teachers to describe my identity and relation to them in school, to make myself more acceptable and identifiable to my Chinese colleagues. Yet, I rarely used the term to introduce myself outside of Mingdao during my fieldwork, even when I hung out with local Chinese friends. The exception here was when I wanted to poke fun at the Chinese sense of China-Taiwan identity relations.

[19] "你是哪裡人" in Chinese indicates the question people ask when wondering about your national or local identity. The literal English translation, "Where are you from" does not reflect the question's political meaning, however.
[20] "我是台灣人" can be translated to "I am from Taiwan" representing my local identity, and can also be interpreted to "I am a Taiwanese" indicating my national or political identity.

My First History Class in Mingdao

For the first few weeks of my fieldwork, in order to explore if and how political ideology was conveyed in classrooms, I observed a wide range of classes, from chemistry, mathematics, music, and physical education to Chinese literature, history, geography, and politics/civics classes. During all of my class observations in both schools, political issues were brought up more or less in most subjects, depending on teachers' personal interests, activities within and outside the schools, and recent news. Based on my time limitations, subject content, the frequency with which political issues emerged in classrooms, and my relationship with teachers in the two schools, I decided to narrow my observations to history and civics/politics classes in both schools while visiting other classes from time to time.

The first history class I sat in on was at the 7th grade level in Mingdao, taught by a male Chinese teacher in his late twenties. With the teacher's permission, I sat in on the class so that all the students could become familiar with my presence as I focused on the six students from Taiwan. After the class started, however, I realized that one of the topics in the day's curriculum was China's "one country, two systems" policy. To not be too intrusive, particularly when this sensitive topic was taught, I sat at the very back of the classroom, did not take notes, and kept my face expressionless.

Of course the textbook section regarding "one country, two systems" clearly stated that "Taiwan is part of China, and the relation between Taiwan and China is surely indivisible… After Taiwan's return back to its motherland, China, the policy of 'one country, two systems' will be applied to Taiwan." When the teacher read this description from the textbook, most of the Taiwanese students in class quietly and slightly turned their heads to take a peek at me. At that

moment, I also glanced furtively at their reactions to the teacher's remarks, where my eyes met some of theirs in a rather loaded atmosphere.

When the teacher went deeper to introduce Taiwan, he declared that over 70 percent of the population in Taiwan was "waishengren (Mainlander, 外省人)" – meaning, they moved from Mainland China during the 1940s, and less than 30 percent were so-called "benshengren (Taiwanese local resident, 本省人)" who also emigrated from Mainland China but during the past few centuries. He also stressed that most Taiwanese people, except a few special political dissidents (政治異議份子) of the Democratic Progressive Party, all supported Taiwan's return back to China. I certainly was not prepared to talk in class when the teacher unexpectedly called upon me to confirm his information about the population composition of Taiwan and his statement of political inclination of people in Taiwan: "Wang Laoshi, do you agree with what I said?" My head was blank for seconds when I was called on, and the whole class turned around to look at me, particularly those students from Taiwan with their keen and curious eyes. Yet, they also seemed to look a little sympathetic. I smiled awkwardly at first, and quickly decided to tell them what I understood after the teacher kept saying, "It does not matter. You can tell us what you know." I briefly offered the demographic composition of Taiwan, different from the data the teacher presented, in a very few, short sentences. I added some clarifying words at the end: "But I am afraid that my understanding of the composition data may not be 100 percent accurate since this is only what I knew and remembered." Furthermore, I intentionally avoided the argument regarding Taiwanese people's political attitudes towards cross-Strait relations. After I spoke, the teacher took the floor and continued his lecture, but moved to the next section of the textbook without any comment on my utterance. He did not act differently during the rest of class, nor did he bring up any Taiwan issues again. Meanwhile, I caught some notable smiles

from the Taiwanese students before they turned their heads back to their textbooks and to the teacher. After the class was dismissed, three female Taiwanese students approached me with big and bright smiles. When one of them told me, "Wang Laoshi, I like to have you in class," the other two students joyfully and vigorously nodded their heads, and one even held my hand as she jumped up and down.

I later learned through my interviews with Taiwanese students in other classes and some Taiwanese parents this short classroom interlude was retold by the Taiwanese students to their parents and other Taiwanese students in school. They mostly shared their similar experiences with me when they brought up the "Wang Laoshi" incident, and expressed how they felt when being called upon to answer "politically sensitive" questions. My firsthand involvement in the Taiwan-China issue in a local Chinese classroom enabled me to understand what students from Taiwan may encounter in class during their educational journey in Mainland China, as well as how eager they were to have what may be their own similar attitudes confirmed in a classroom setting, by an "authority figure" (as teacher and educated Taiwanese) no less. This experience also made me much more cautious about my words and behaviors in Mingdao, so that I might avoid any possible tension with other teachers.

The Local Schooling Experience of Kai

Aside from my personal experiences in adjusting to my teacher/research/political identities in Mingdao, many of my research participants, ranging from elementary to undergraduate students, coincidently shared their experiences of being "forced" to become involved in political

positioning at school. For example, Kai,[21] a male high school student at the Taishang School with an excellent academic record, answered my interview question, "What kind of person are you? (你是一個什麼人?)" by saying, "I am a Taiwanese." After I further asked him, "Do you mean that you 'come from Taiwan, or you are a 'Taiwanese' (I used both hands to indicate quotation marks around 'Taiwanese') or both?" He pondered a bit, then told me, "Both" but added, "I am a Taiwanese." The following conversation occurred after I asked him to further clarify his definition and the meaning of his words, "I am a Taiwanese," which shows how a precocious eighth grade Taiwanese student experienced the collision of two competing political ideologies:

Me: What does being a Taiwanese mean to you?

Kai: What does being a Taiwanese mean to me?

Me: Yes.

Kai: (Being silent for a second, biting his lips and pondering) I am not sure. The meaning of being a Taiwanese is like… (showing his puzzled face)… very complicated. If you are asking me the answer given by textbooks, it will be that individuals need to contribute something to their countries. But I think I have too little power to do so.

Me: (laughing and nodding my head) How about not giving me the official answer? To you, personally, what do you think of being…?

Kai: (interrupting my words with emphasis and looking directly in my eyes) *It depends on where I am*.

[21] In this dissertation, all research participants are randomly assigned different pseudonyms, either English names or Chinese names.

Me: Hmm.

Kai: If I were in Taiwan, that [being Taiwanese] would seem to be nothing special because all people are Taiwanese. However, when I was in a local [Chinese] school, I felt the meaning [of being Taiwanese] was a little different. This was because none of their students would dare to go against what their teachers said, yet at that time [when I studied there], I furiously argued with a teacher, and the teacher was *very, very* angry. I felt that as a Taiwanese, I, at that moment, had the *obligation* to *tell the truth* about some wrong information in their textbooks. I felt this was my *obligation*. Then the teacher asked me…. He almost lost his mind at that time… He was raging, waving a textbook in his hand, and yelling at me, saying, "So you tell me if you [want to/decide to] write [the correct answer on your exam paper] or not after all?" I replied, "No, I am not writing [the correct answer]." He kept shouting, "Very good! I just do not understand what *you folks*, these few Taiwanese people, think. *You [Taiwan] are not a country at all*… I do not know why you folks have to be so stubborn. Just only a few words! [on the exam paper]…" He didn't stop but kept shouting… I forget how I responded to him then. Anyway, my point was that I do not want to feel ashamed of my *passport*, and then he got very mad again.

Me: It seemed that you were not afraid of…

Kai: (not waiting to utter his words) That was because I almost exploded as well! (he raised his voice and shook his head)

Me: You must have been quite angry at that time.

Kai: (keeping his voice up) Yes, I was very angry! I was never that furious before. It was also because he was not the only teacher to yell at you, not the only teacher to criticize you. I was called to the teacher's office many times then, and all the teachers in that

office jumped to his side and scolded me every time. He also said that this was not only about *myself,* but about *the whole class*. He told me that if I did not want to write the correct answer on the exam paper that was "your own business," but "do not bring any bad impact on the whole class." He said that all students' scores would be counted, so what I did would drag the average grade of our class. Hsiang-ning, do you know it was not about the *grade*? But about the matter of *principle*… And also, I was just an 8th grader, but they were all adults. They had a lot of people…

Me: (nodding my head and showing sympathy) How about your experience here [in Taishang]? Any difference?

Kai: (answering immediately) Yes, I feel much more comfortable being here. (He lowered his voice down a bit, and did not look as irritated.)

Me: How come?

Kai: When I was in that school, I definitely would not say that I was a Chinese since I know that "Chinese" that we [Taiwanese people] say refers to "R.O.C. people", not "P.R.C. people." However, being here [Taishang School], I would say "I am Taiwanese, and also Chinese." If you said you were a Chinese in local schools, no one would admit you were saying "R.O.C," so you had to say "I am Taiwanese." Do you know what I am saying? (I nodded my head) However, when you are here, on *this side [Taishang School]*, you can say, "I am Chinese" with confidence since everyone knows *which China* you are talking about.

Me: This is because "*the China"* you just said means "R.O.C" here?

Kai: Yes. You would be strongly identified [by people in Taishang] and also have stronger identity [to Taishang school rather than local schools] here. I said, "I am Chinese" only

> after I came to this school. It was NEVER possible for me to say, "I am Chinese" in that other school.

In the later part of our interview, Kai indicated that the main reason for his transfer to Taishang was the serious and repeated political conflicts he had with teachers and peers in the local Chinese school. Kai was a very smart, articulate, and creative boy who seemed very much grounded emotionally, but he showed his pained feelings and strong agitation when he mentioned his political arguments with his teachers. He claimed that the incident was one of the worst and most traumatizing memories of his life, and he would "rather die" than go back to that school.

The snapshot of Kai's story brings up a variety of important topics that are significantly involved with identity formation and contestation, including (1) the interplay between the agency of individuals and institutional powers of educational structures, (2) the interrelationships among subjectivity, objectivity, and intersubjectivity, (3) identity as an individual choice and/or a given and collective social or political label, (4) the complicity of the concepts of Taiwanese identity and Chinese identity, and (5) the overall (in)compatibility of these dualistic political ideologies.

Kai's story highlights how individual agency and structural power interact in the process of an individual's identification. During the process of identity negotiation in the classroom, Kai displayed his own agency by resisting the imposed political ideology represented by school teachers and principals, as well as the " have-to-be" politically correct and conformist answers on school exam papers, even though he claimed that individuals could not compete with the superior strength of the nation-state. Kai's political identity was therefore strengthened through

this subjective resistance to the legitimate ideology confirmed by supposedly objective others (teachers). The intersubjective engagement he demanded from his teachers also served to validate his own chosen political and nationalist position. According to the hermeneutic meaning of reconstruction (Carspcken, 1996), Kai's identity is produced through the interplay and validation of three components— his subjectivity, the objectivity represented by his teachers, and the intersubjectivity constructed by interactions between him and those teachers. In other words, subjective identities are shaped and reshaped by the confirmation or rejection given by the objectivity of others, and also through the intersubjectivity produced by social interactions between individuals and others.

Furthermore, the social boundary and political category created by his teacher stimulated Kai's political awareness and sense of self identity as "the other." For his teacher, political identity is presented as an individual choice, and students have to choose the "correct" (Chinese) one, not just for themselves, but for the "collective good" – as part of standard communist propaganda. Interestingly, the collective good is reflected as a higher average score on a political exam in this case, thus undermining the teacher's point. From Kai's perspective, his political identity is not for the benefit of the collective, but is central to his "principles" and his "status" as legally recognized by his passport; it is not even a "choice" as such. Though, of course, he made the decision to express his extreme anger and indifference to authority figures and their philosophy inside the classroom, to the point he was not able to stay in the school.

Kai's interpretation of the terms "Taiwan," "ROC," and China, or "Taiwanese" and "Chinese," presents the complex nature of political identity in the China-Taiwan context. Even though the option of "Taiwanese identity AND Chinese identity" has been listed on most Taiwan-based opinion polls regarding the identities of Taiwanese people, these two identities are

often regarded as oppositional and even incompatible by Taiwan citizens. That is, this dual identity concept is far less acceptable to most, but there is much more space for people in Taiwan to state their position as "Taiwanese identity OR Chinese identity." This concept has largely prevailed in Taiwan since the Taiwanization (localization, *bentuhua*) movement was launched in the late 1980s and subsequently promoted through public discourse and national government policies that pitted Taiwanese statehood against Chinese nationalism (Jacob, 2005).

In particular, Taiwanization and corresponding de-Sinification initiatives were institutionalized through a comprehensive educational reform process conducted by the Taiwan educational authority beginning in 1994. For example, in a new middle-school history textbook, *Understanding Taiwan* (Renshi Taiwan, YEAR), Taiwan history was presented separately from Chinese history which, in turn, became "foreign" history. Taiwan history in this text was characterized as the shared history of all people living in Taiwan. The history curriculum reform was expanded to the primary and high school levels as well. The reorganization of Taiwanese history and contemporary Chinese history as well as the re-narrativization of Taiwanese history in all new history textbooks highlighted a Taiwan-centered concept and emphasized Taiwan's multiculturalism and multi-ethnic population. For instance, the terms "our country (*woguo*, 我國 or *benguo*, 本國)" and "mainland (dalu, 大陸)" used to refer to China in the past were all replaced by "China (中國)" to distinguish the national boundary between Taiwan and China. Aside from the maintained but undermined Chinese Han legacy, the heritage of aboriginal culture and Japanese culture are included into discussions of the unique Taiwanese culture (Brown, 2004). Even though it is widely recognized that the focus of students' learning should be based on their life experiences (Giroux, 1989; Freire, 1974), for students in Taiwan, this often translates as "Taiwan in reality and China in the abstract" (Hsiao, 2001, p.158). As a

consequence, the rapid shift in the history curriculum from one that was China-centered to one that prioritized Taiwan resulted in widespread debates.

Most of my research participants born after 1990 who attended schools in Taiwan all learned the new history curriculum aimed at inculcating and strengthening a specifically Taiwanese national affiliation. But once they relocated to the Mainland, China abruptly became their "reality" while Taiwan, their original land, grew more distant. The legitimized Taiwanese ideology conveyed in their textbooks is instead invalidated by the overriding Chinese ideology of their new land. Under the one-China policy, the most fundamental principle for the sovereignty of China, Taiwanese identity, if it is to be accepted, can only be a local or regional identity subsumed under the only legitimate national identity, Chinese identity. Transmigrant youth, therefore, are exposed to two opposing political ideologies: the perception of coexisting identities gradually losing ground in Taiwan and the rejection in Mainland China of Taiwanese identity as a (legitimate) national identity. These two ideological narratives are the source of a wide range of struggles and conflicts for Taiwanese transmigrant youths, particularly those attending local Chinese schools. Many of my research participants shared their local schooling experiences with me, saying that they had no choice but to go through the self-attesting process of identifying their political positions in the black-and-white political arena of school. In sharp contrast, students in Taishang are exempted from political testing since "This is our own place," as noted by Kai.

My Civics Class in Taishang

I also observed classes, particularly civics and history class, in Taishang School. In one of my classroom observations of a 12th grade civic class, different political systems were introduced,

analyzed, and compared by a male Taiwanese teacher in his early fifties. After his lecture on the characteristics of various political systems existing in contemporary society, he talked about certain countries as examples, including the positive influences and negative impacts of the 1989 unity of East and West Germany on its people and the world from different perspectives. When the teacher sipped a bit of tea from his cup, Dan, a male student who usually liked to express his opinions in class, offered, "Teacher, so we cannot be united by China." The teacher looked at him and asked, "Why not?" Dan replied, "Because Chen Shui-bian was arrested." The teacher could not help but laugh because of Dan's seemly illogical remark, which caused him to question Dan, who immediately got to the heart of the matter:

Teacher: What is the relation between these two things?

Dan: Teacher, they are highly related. This is because Taiwan is a democratic country, but China is an authoritarian country, so if Taiwan is united by China, we cannot criticize nor laugh at Chen Shui-bian anymore since he was the former President.

(The teacher looked puzzled, and Mei, a smart and eloquent female student who always played a leadership role in class, jumped into the conversation)

Mei: Laoshi, what Dan meant is here, in China, you cannot have any different political opinions towards their government and leaders. So if Taiwan is united by China, we cannot criticize or make fun of Chen Shui-bian.

Dan: Teacher, did you ever hear of anyone here who dared to criticize their government who is still alive? (Dan's remark made many students laugh.) I mean, seriously, can they criticize Hu Jingtao or Wen Jiabao in public? But we can criticize A-bian (nickname of

Chen Shui-bian) and Ma Xiao-jiu[22] as harshly as we want. Look at our political talk shows and TV news. A-bian was criticized and teased every day. So we [Taiwan and Mainland China] cannot be united. I want to be Taiwanese. I am Taiwanese! (Dan said "I am Taiwanese" in Taiwan dialect with both of his hands up in expectation of other students' responses.)

(Mei responded to Dan by saying, "I am Taiwanese, too" in the Taiwanese dialect, using a funny tone since she could not speak the dialect fluently. Her odd tone made Dan and other students laugh again.)

Mei: (turning to the teacher) Teacher, wasn't A-bian just given a new name by TV news? Is what I said right, "2630[23]"? (Mei looked at Dan, and some students abruptly laughed.)

Dan: (talking to Mei and giving a salute to her) Yes, "1834"!

(When students started to talk to one another, the teacher asked the whole class to go back to their textbook. But Mei tried to negotiate with him.)

Mei: Teacher, why can't we keep talking about this?

(Mei turned to look at Dan first and then turned to the whole class, and using her lively voice said to the other students, "Let's vote!" Dan immediately raised his hand, as did some other students.

Teacher: (laughing and coughing a bit) Okay, okay! Let's go back to page 52.

Dan: Teacher, you are a dictator! Like the Chinese government. (Dan made the whole class laugh again.)

---

[22] Ma Xiao-jiu is the name of the president of Taiwan, Ma Ying-jiu's dog. People used Ma Xiao-jiu's name to refer to Ma Ying-jiu instead of his actual name in order to express discontent with his incompetence.

[23] A serial 4-digit number is assigned to each prisoner. In the conversation, students gave each other a serial number in the class to comment sarcastically on the imprisonment of Taiwan's former president, Chen Sui-bian.

The teacher made a sound, "Shhhh…" and taking a semi-serious look at Dan, said, "Do not say this in school." Then he gave Dan a deliberately fake smile and told him, "Okay, Dan. You have to stay in the classroom after the class is dismissed. Since you said I am a dictator, I am a dictator now." (The teacher tried to use standard Mandarin when he said "I am a dictator now." His response and accent made the whole class laugh again since his "standard Mandarin" had a very strong Taiwanese accent.)

(Seconds later, the whole class stopped talking and laughing after Mei asserted her authority and gave Dan a look, and asked the whole class to be quiet.)

In the classes at Taishang, I frequently heard similar conversations in which students made comments, including political comments, on the differences between Taiwan and China, wherein most teachers would try to tone down their discussions at some point. Political remarks and discussions within class are acceptable and even encouraged by many Taiwanese teachers at Taishang, but not outside class. This short interlude shows the dominant political ideology circulating in Taishang among students and how it is not suppressed by Taiwanese teachers. Democracy is one of the most salient political characteristics my research participants and their teachers usually emphasize to distinguish Taiwan and China. Through this conversation, it can be noted that democracy is not the concept being explained in the textbook or a slogan implanted by school, but a social norm recognized by students and the Taiwanese teacher and also carried out in their daily lives. During the conversation, Dan, Mei, and the teacher took turns acting out the roles of supporters of democracy and authoritarianism, which may have stimulated other students' "thinking of the advantages and disadvantages of democracy and authoritarianism," as stated by the teacher in our interview when I asked him how he saw students' freestyle mode of

talking and their remarks about politics in class. Furthermore, this conversation displays how language variation, including language type, linguistic accents and dialect shifts, and lexical and semantic features were explicitly employed and also tacitly understood by both Taiwanese students and the teacher as a means of demonstrating their political identity in fluid and often spirited back-and-forth exchanges.

School as Battleground or Incubator

When the roles of schools in shaping the identification of students are investigated, they are paradoxically portrayed as a "contact zones" (Pratt, 1992) or a "symbolic battlefield" (Paquette, 1991) by different scholars. Several aforementioned stories indeed exemplify that the school could be a minefield, a battleground, or an incubator for young Taiwanese transmigrants. Within schools, the process of students finding their identities is seemingly like a game of tug of war. The presence of Taiwanese transmigrant youth, as the minority group in Mingdao, was diluted in a large population of Chinese students. On the contrary, they were the majority in Taishang where few Chinese teachers and some local administrative staff were on site. The Mingdao school seemed like a contested site for students' furthering of their political identification by resisting legitimate ideology, and the Taishang school mainly played the role of enabler in cultivating and strengthening their identities with mainstream ideology, as well as a battleground to fight against, or more idealistically, to defeat China's political ideology as expressed in the formal and informal lessons of local Chinese teachers.

Resistance to Chinese Ideology

From my nearly one-year observations, I noticed that adolescent transmigrant youth experience a heavy burden of uncertainty about the past and their future, a burden that is simultaneously psychological, academic, and certainly financial. During a period full of psychological and physical changes, these youths also need to deal with challenges embedded in their transmigrant journeys. Resistance was one of the most striking characteristics of their (re)identification process that I observed and that was also shared by my research participants. During those battles mentioned above, their contestation occurs in all places, particularly in schools. But what specifically are they resisting?

One of the most fundamental conflicts these students need to face is the difference between mainstream political ideologies in Taiwan and China, and when political contradictions come to the forefront, young transmigrants fight against China's one-China principle. In Mainland China, the legitimate political ideology of the superiority of CCP-led government and the political creed inscribed in the national law, that Taiwan is part of China and should return to China – two of the most fundamental and undeniable national principles. After several decades of political propaganda and patriotic education in all schools, this understanding and narrative have been deeply rooted in the thinking of the majority of Chinese people, who have seen their Han-dominated government suppress the country's "55 minorities" – in many cases, violently – as part of their singular rule under a "united" China.

In such a highly politicalized atmosphere, resistance is the most common reaction of my research participants, regardless of the length of their residency in Mainland China. To show their disagreement to China's political ideology, young Taiwanese transmigrants, from pre-teen to early-adult ages, have adopted a variety of overt and covert methods to contest the political

ideology thoroughly recognized by their counterparts in Mainland China. Their resistant actions occur in different settings, including classrooms and other places in schools, communities and societies, and when they interact with different interlocutors, such as school authorities, peers, street vendors, and taxi drivers.

Resistance within School

Within the school, where young people spend most of their daily lives, resistance to the legitimate ideology and imposed knowledge is most easily observed and largely occurs through their expressed opinions about their textbook contents, their interactions with school authorities and peers, and their behaviors in school activities. More interestingly, their political resistance is disguised by their compromised behaviors or situated identities for a very realistic reason – survival in their new land.

Resistance to Political Ideology in Textbooks

Many scholars, such as Apple (2000, 2002), Bernstein (1990, 2000), Crawford (2000), and Giroux (1989), argued that textbooks and learning materials manipulated by state governments in most countries as political ideology carriers serve to shape students' national identity. Through "selective tradition" (Williams, 1961) and "selected knowledge" (Apple, 2000) the dominant political authority intends to imbue its young nationals with sanctioned or legitimized ideology. Among a great number of studies on the (trans)formation of identity of students in education, scholars have paid special attention to how such ideologies, particularly conflicting political ideologies, are embedded and delivered through curriculum and textbooks in the two educational systems of China and Taiwan (Sheng, 1997; Yang, 2003; Yang, 2004; Lai, 2005).

Due to the opposing ideologies in Taiwan and Chinese textbooks, all textbooks used in Taishang imported from Taiwan have to be examined by the Chinese government before they are delivered to Taishang students, whereas the local and international programs in local Chinese schools both use local Chinese textbooks approved by the Chinese government. In Taishang School, all descriptions and images in textbooks have to be "politically correct"; accordingly, all politically sensitive content is censored by the Chinese government by being blacked out, covered, or excised, and this policy was carried out by the local Chinese teachers employed by the school. Yet, it was very common to see Taishang students tear off stickers covering sensitive content, or make sarcastic remarks or doodles beside or on Chinese political figures (See Appendix A). Most of the Taishang students told me these actions were to express their protest against that "ridiculous but understandable" textbook censoring policy, and also to show "their support for Taiwan." This non-verbal but concrete resistance in the form of expressed sarcasm, irony, and anger in response to the political description in textbooks was less common in local schools. In the local programs, my participants told me that those subjects more overtly and intentionally involved with political ideologies, such as history, geography and politics, were not the most important subjects (which are Chinese, English, and math). The students as a result rarely read those textbooks. Likewise, Taiwanese students attending the international programs (including the HMT classes) in local schools indicated their lack of attention to their textbooks.

To have a better understanding of the different and often conflicting political ideologies in the two sets of textbooks, I collected history, geography, and politics/civics textbooks used in Taishang and Mingdao for content analysis. But learning from my fieldwork experiences, I gradually realized that rather than analyzing the differences in political ideologies between these two sets of textbooks, it would be more meaningful to pay closer attention to student responses

to the so-called legitimate knowledge embodied therein, interactions with school authorities as well as peers, and behaviors associated with school activities. In other words, meaningful differences between political ideologies in the two sets of textbooks emerged from the utterances and actions of my research participants on their own, as illustrated in the following discussions.

Resistance in the Classroom

In Kai's case, his overt demonstration of fury and resistance to the legitimate ideology through his negotiation with the school authority is shared to some extent by other students interviewed. Two Taiwanese high school students, Feifei and Lulu, attending local schools (the international program and the local program) also presented their resistance to China's ideology but in different ways and for varying purposes.

Feifei, who had moved to Shanghai less than two years earlier, was studying in a newly formed international class at a well-known local high school. Her class had 23 students from six different countries, including South Korea, Japan, the UK, Germany, the US, and "Taiwan," as she stated. She brought up a telling example from her social studies class taught by a Chinese teacher in English when she talked about her school culture.

Feifei: The last thing we could say in this school is that Taiwan is a country. This is strictly forbidden.

Me: What situation did you encounter?

Feifei: I provoked one of my teachers before. In our social studies class, the teacher played the game of "Bingo" with us. We needed to fill in a grid of 25 blank cells with the names of different countries. The first country name I wrote was Taiwan, and I was the first

student who could call out a country name. So I just said, “Taiwan!” Right after my utterance, the whole class suddenly turned silent, and the teacher immediately told me, “It is very inappropriate to say this in school” and insisted that I choose the name of a “real” country (with her stressed tone)… Even though I did, I still think Taiwan is a country.

Me: You chose another country’s name?

Feifei: Hmm (nodding her head). I did. Otherwise, the game could not continue. If so, what was the whole class supposed to do then? But I didn’t think what I did was wrong.

Me: Did you do that on purpose?

Feifei: No, I did not do it intentionally. In my eyes, Taiwan really is a country! (raising her voice a bit and looking at me) Yes, this is what I really think (nodding her head).

Me: Did you do something else like this again?

Feifei: (laughing a lot) Not really. I knew that was not a touchable topic. But sometimes I wrote traditional characters mixed with simplified ones in my Chinese homework.

Me: You haven’t learned how to write all simplified characters, have you?

Feifei: Yes, I have almost learned how to write all simplified characters. It is not hard. But I did it on purpose… (laughing) They did not let me say, “Taiwan is a country.” It’s okay. But they could not catch me every time when I wrote traditional characters. Not every single character… (keeps laughing)

Me: How did you do it?

Feifei: Since we are an international class, we don’t have many opportunities to write Chinese characters. So when I had some Chinese assignments, I sometimes intentionally hid a few traditional characters among the rest of simplified characters. Then I would feel very happy (很爽) if I didn’t get caught.

Me: What if you did?

Feifei: (laughing) It was not a big deal, though. Just say, "Oh, I did not notice." Do you know that it felt really good! It was like you pull the rope back a bit. You need balance; they can pull the rope to them in public, but I can pull it back to me in private.

Unlike Kai, who upheld his overt resistance to the end, Feifei turned her overt resistance into something hidden, as instructed by her teacher who made it clear she should not express her opinions in class. She maintained her ideology, and covered it by seemingly compromised behaviors for the collective benefit, that is, to allow the game to continue. While a few Taiwanese transmigrant students dared to explicitly confront their teachers and the dominant ideology, most students chose a strategy of compromise to avoid political conflict and maintain some level of harmony. Feifei was not asked to express her political position in responding to the teacher's request to name a country. Feifei further developed her own "invisible" approach to present her political attitude by using language variation to achieve a "balance" in the political tug of war. Also, many Taiwanese students studying in the international program seemed to encounter or initiate less explicitly political challenges in public because of the diversity of students' nationality in the class.

Lulu, a female Taishang high school student who attended the program of a local middle school, shared her story illustrating both her strategy of compromise and her subsequent performance of a situated identity in public when she was requested to clearly state her stance.

Me: You just mentioned about your politics class. Could we talk more about it?

Lulu: Politics class? It is like morality or civics class in Taiwan. But when you are at the 8th grade level, there is a lesson about the cross-Strait unity (兩岸統一). In that class period, I was specifically called upon by my teacher, "Chen Lulu,[24] what do you think of Taiwan and China?" Then I sat in my chair feeling helpless, and I thought I might look foolish since I did not know how to answer his question. The only thing I said was "… I am studying in China now, *so* I feel that China is a better place. Taiwan is a more developed *country*, so it is better to just have fun there. If *two countries* want to unify, I will not be against it. However, I am still young, so I do not know what politics is about"…. I was trying to get out of that awkward situation, so my expression was very vague. Therefore, the teacher could not continue to ask me any questions. He had no choice but to return to his lecture.

Me: Did you have any other statements in mind?

Lulu: Of course! (raising her voice and laughing) How did you know? I was thinking, "Why did he have to call on me [to answer this question]? A lot of Shanghai people are around me, and I am the only Taiwanese in class. You could call on others for a class debate, but why did you only ask me?" Since I was called up to the stage in front of everyone, I was under the spotlight, and everyone just looked at me to see what I was going to say. When I walked to the stage, I kept cursing and thinking, why don't we have a real foreigner besides me, who could be that person in a neutral position to express his thoughts? "Why did you pick on me?" I kept thinking this until the end of the school day.

[24] In local Chinese schools, teachers usually use students' full names instead of their first names, which are usually used by teachers in Taiwanese schools. The same social rules are applied in Taishang and Mingdao.

Me: But what did you think about the cross-Strait relation in your mind? Was it what you said in class?

Lulu: (laughing) … Of course not! I think it is good to keep the current situation, and open Taiwan to Mainlanders, which can be also good for the economic growth of Taiwan! Yes… this is good! Why is it necessary to unify *two countries*? Taiwan is not part of China for sure! (with her stressed tone) But I did not have to confront them directly, and what I could do was to keep my position neutral (bitterly smiling) since I still need to stay in this school, need to graduate, and need to eat no matter how the cross-Strait political situation may be changed.

In Lulu's case, she performed a compromise in an attempt to neutralize her identity by avoiding an awkward situation where she was called upon to state her political position. Many of my research participants used similar strategies, and some were taught to do so by their parents in order to avoid any possible conflicts with local people within and also outside schools. Most young Taiwanese transmigrants indirectly learned from or were taught by their parents to be realistic in many contexts, and their realism is clearly reflected in their performed and situated political positioning. The persistent use of the word "country" to indicate Taiwan in Lulu's statement and description displayed the coherence of her political identity that she intended to covet. The fact that the benefit of economic growth of cross-Strait relations is the one topic all can agree on, also expressed in other participant interviews, confirms the major concern of all parties – notably the Chinese, who are driven to promote capitalism within the communist system.

Resistance through School Activity

"The national flag of the Republic of China shall be of red ground with a blue sky and a white sun in the upper left corner."
Article 6, Chapter 1, Constitution of Republic of China.

"The national flag of the People's Republic of China is a red flag with five stars."
Article 136, Chapter 4, Constitution of People's Republic of China.

As we have seen, the school can be a battlefield where identities compete and interact, but it can also be an incubator to cultivate ideology, mostly the socially or legitimately recognized ones. My research participants do reflect the complexity of schooling in shaping students' identities. Outside the classroom, students encounter identity struggles in different school activities. For example, the flag-raising ceremony (升旗典禮) has been studied by scholars, such as Fairbrother (2004), Tse (2007), and Zhao (1998), to investigate how the government uses such patriotic education to convey nationalism in China. Flag-raising used to be a daily mandatory ritual in schools in both Taiwan and Mainland China, but is now a weekly routine in schools of both educational systems. On one morning of each week, students from elementary to high school need to attend the ceremony, singing the national anthem while watching the national flag rise to the top of a pole, followed by some school authority's daily speech. The following scenarios in three school settings (i.e. the local program and international program of local school, and the Taiwanese businessmen's school) present how the ritual and the national flag as a highly politicized symbol serve as the source of political conflict as well as alliance for students.

Flag-raising ceremony in Mingdao.

I attended the flag-raising ceremony several times in Mingdao to observe Taiwanese students who needed to wear the red scarf (紅領巾), like all of the other students, in the ceremony. In these occasions that I watched, some of my research participants sang the national anthem of PRC like their Chinese peers while some of them tended to slur their words during the singing. Yet when some Taiwanese students gave a serious salute to the five-star flag, others slightly rolled their heads, rocked back and forth, or looked at the sky, all under their homeroom teachers' supervision.

One time when I walked with Jing, my teacher mentor, back to our office from the school sports ground after the ceremony was dismissed, she called upon Lei, one of my participants from the 7th grade, to stop. She reached out to adjust Lei's red scarf, asking her in a serious voice to tie her red scarf correctly next time, saying, "I noticed that you did not sing the national anthem seriously but played with your fingers with your head down. How old are you? Don't you know this is very bad behavior? You should pay more attention to your behavior for the honor of our class." Lei was dismissed after she promised she would change her behavior, which she actually did, but only from time to time, according to my observations.

After observing a number of flag-raising ceremonies at Mingdao, I had been wondering what this highly political ritual meant to Taiwanese transmigrants. Lei and three other Taiwanese students (Min, Jie, and Wen) spontaneously brought this topic up in our group interview when I asked them if they liked Mingdao.

Min: I once raised the national flag of the PRC. We had the ceremony every week, and that week was our class's turn [to raise the flag], so I went there with some students from my class. Actually, it was pretty honorable. [I] felt not bad… (smiling)

Jie: (interrupting the conversation) But I do not like to attend the flag-raising ceremony.

Lei: (rolling her eyes) Neither do I.

(Wen does not show her attitude, but just looks at us.)

Me: Why?

Jie: (cannot wait to talk) Because it was so stupid. We need to wear red scarfs. The textbook told us that the red scarf was one corner of the five-star flag… whatever… But I just felt that was so stupid. I did not often tie my red scarf prettily, so I was scolded by my homeroom teacher[25] often. (shrugging his shoulders)

Me: Hmm (I nodded my head to Jie). And what about you? What do you think and how do you feel in the ceremony? (I asked Lei)

Lei: (Thinking for a few seconds) … I did not sing the song actually. I was just murmuring when looking at the national flag.

Me: What were you thinking at that moment?

Lei: I was thinking, this has nothing to do with me. This was not my national flag. Why did I need to salute it? I felt nothing. And I knew some local students in my class do not like it [the ceremony] either. I do not like wearing the red scarf either. But I still did it since our teacher asked us to do so. I do not want to look different from others. So I did. (shrugging her shoulders) Also, when some of my [local Chinese] classmates are so

[25] The homeroom teacher is designated to each class by the school authority. The main responsibilities of homeroom teachers include closely taking care of each student in their class and communicating with parents about their children's development and learning in school, and also delivering school policies.

excited about the Beijing Olympics and the Shanghai World Exhibition, I still feel nothing. It… is just… no feeling. But some of my [other Chinese] classmates feel nothing, too.

Wen: (jumping into the conversation) I think it [the ceremony] does not make any difference. If they asked you to do it, you could just do it. It was like, no matter what our principal said in her remarks, I just listened. It would not hurt you. I just stood there. You could think of whatever you want to. (Jie shrugged his shoulders. Min looks at Wen, and Lei looks at the floor.)

These four students are from two classes I observed. Min and Wen are good friends in one class, and Jie and Lei are in another one. Min had moved to Shanghai three years earlier. She is a member of the Communist Youth League (共青團)[26] and she told me that participating in the League would be very helpful to her efforts to gain admission to a good local high school even though she said she did not exactly know what the League was doing, and what she exactly needed to do in the League. She said, "Anyway, they will tell me what to do." Jie is the only boy in this group interview. His mother is a Mainlander and his father is from Taiwan. He spoke standard Mandarin without any Taiwanese accent, and he could also speak very basic terms for daily conversation in the Taiwanese dialect. Lei shared a similar family background with Jie, but

[26] The Communist Youth League is operated and controlled by the CCP, and mainly recruits Chinese students from age 14 to 28. Their goal is to cultivate young loyal communists to serve China. Being a member of the League is promoted and regarded as an honor, and a form of symbolic capital, according to Bourdieu (1986), for students. The most important PRC political leaders share a common background as Communist Youth League members, so it is widely acknowledged that participating in the Communist Youth League contributes to one's political future and potential career in the Party.

did not have a good academic performance like Jie. She also has a mother from the Mainland and a father from Taiwan. They were both born in Taiwan, but mainly grew up in Shanghai. Wen is a newcomer, arriving in Shanghai less than one year earlier. They all lived in the dorm during the weekdays except for Lei, who commuted every day.

The various opinions towards the flag-raising ceremony shared by these students, along with other individual interviews I had with them and their parents, present a wide range of thinking about school activities with "political color," from covert resistance (Jie), passive cooperation and compromise (Lei and Wen), to active participation (Min). The identification processes and practices of these young Taiwanese transmigrants are at times very different from one another, expressed in their complex and contradictory interactions and ways with various family backgrounds, the length of their residency in Mainland China, the peers with which they associate, or their academic performance. In my fieldwork I observed a wide range of thinking and acting among participants who attended the program of local schools as they forged their own sense of political identification.

School sports meet in another local school.

The required weekly flag-raising ceremony in Mingdao was not something Taiwanese youths studying in the international program of the local school participated in, since they were enrolled in the "international" program. However, the national flag, as a political symbol, interestingly and similarly plays a role in showing their identity struggles, and the sports ground similarly serves as an arena where ideological as well as physical competition occurs. Yun's story regarding her school sports meet captures some of the Taiwanese students' dilemmas on the sports field.

Yun: Sometimes I felt so lonely and insignificant here.

Me: hmm… Where do you mean?

Yun: In Mainland China… in school as well.

Me: hmm… How come?

Yun: Because you are a Taiwanese, and… You need to face a lot of unpleasant situations... And you have to make choices.

Me: (nodding my head) Could you give me an example?

Yun: For example, students, like us, in the international program, needed to march around the sports ground at our school sports meet, and we were also asked [by the school] to hold national flags of countries where we are from. It was always impossible for us to show the national flag of Taiwan (R.O.C.) (台灣國旗這玩意兒) when all flags from other countries were shown.

Me: You sound a little frustrated and upset.

Yun: I do! Because it was just… upsetting and annoying.

Me: So what did you do?

Yun: Sometimes we did not hold any flags, and sometimes we all held the regional flag of HKSAR (Hong Kong Special Administrative Region) and followed their group in the procession, because we did not have our own flags. So we thought that was our best choice for that moment when we did not have better choices (with her voice lowered. She suddenly raises her voice to a higher pitch and laughs.) But you know what? Sometimes we held the national flag of Burma since their national flag looks like ours! (Yun gets very excited and insists on going online to search for the national flag of

Burma to show me when she explains how these two flags look alike.) We just took whatever was available since we were not allowed to hold Taiwan's flag. We had no choice. But it was fun to hold the national flag of Burma since it looks so similar to the national flag of Taiwan!

Me: Did your school say anything about it?

Yun: What could they say? That was the national flag of Burma! Our classmates in the international program all knew what it [Taiwanese holding the national flag of Burma] meant, and you know? Even some local Chinese students pointed at us and whispered to each other when we marched around (smiling and slightly raising her chin).

In this passage, Yun indicated that she wanted to publicly announce that she was Taiwanese by this Burmese flag incident, and felt upset that she was not allowed to present the national flag of the R.O.C. to show that Taiwan is an actual country. Under the external restriction of school policy, like many other of my participants, she adopted a strategy of compromise to show her compliance with the policy but not exactly with the political ideology, and she also tried to find another subtle way to show her political belonging. Among all options, she chose the flags of Hong Kong and Burma because of their "closeness" to Taiwan on various levels. Hong Kong was closer to Taiwan in many aspects, such as culturally, geographically, economically, and ethnically. Burma, a country she admitted she was not familiar with, was chosen simply because its national flag shared similar visual features with that of Taiwan. Furthermore, in her story about the national flag, she consistently used the term "the national flag of *Taiwan*" instead of "the national flag of *ROC,*" which was actually the official title. This distinction in usage similarly and very frequently occurred during my fieldwork, which shows the nature of students'

thinking about essential identity. What transmigrants identify with is "Taiwan," a community they recognized, instead of "R.O.C," a term with too much political and historical baggage.

Also, Yun admitted that the expression, "This thing, the national flag of Taiwan (台灣國旗這玩意兒)," when said using a sarcastic and pejorative tone, was borrowed from her local Chinese teacher. Using the negative term instead of a more serious or positive word to mention the national flag of ROC in her description of wanting to attest allegiance publically to Taiwan instead of Mainland China reveals the ideological opposition between her and the school authority. It also suggests the irony of Taiwan's non-recognition by China as a country from Yun's perspective. Meanwhile, Yun's narrative also shows the intersubjective nature of identity. Subjective identity needs to be confirmed through other individuals' recognition, or even opposition. Whether an identity is legitimized through official systems or not, it becomes socially endorsed through intersubjective agreement (e.g. from other students in the international program), and validated even through intersubjective disagreement (by local Chinese students).

Flag-raising performance in Taishang.

In contrast to the experience of Taiwanese students in local Chinese schools, flag-raising ceremonies in the Taishang School are strictly banned by the Chinese government. Any politically sensitive words, music, pictures, or symbols, including the term ROC itself, maps of Taiwan, and surely the national flag and the national anthem of ROC, are completely prohibited and monitored by the Chinese vice principal, who patrols the school every day. To avoid possible conflicts, Taiwanese teachers in Taishang often remind students, particularly rebellious and more reflective high school students, to avoid trouble by not publically talking about anything politically sensitive in front of Chinese teachers, particularly the Chinese vice principal.

Under rigid regulation and monitoring, heavy academic pressure, and concerns about their social relations with friends, students in Taishang School did not cause any politically unacceptable problems during the year of my fieldwork, with the exception of a few small disturbances caused by political arguments between Taiwanese students and their local Chinese teachers, as noted by Kai in particular.

During the period of time when I was at the school, some students who had a strong political awareness once told me that one of things they missed most about Taiwan was that they could have a flag-raising ceremony in school. On a Monday morning after a staying-at-school weekend, a student I was very close to acted mysteriously when she approached me in the teachers' office during recess. She said she wanted to show me something very interesting and exciting later that day when we were back at the dormitory. After I asked her, "Why not now?" she replied with a big secretive smile, "Because this is very sensitive (she winked at me), but I really want to show you what we did during the weekend." Right after the bell indicating night study time was over, Mei quickly walked into my dorm room and took out her digital camera, asking me with her joyful voice, "Can you guess what we did this weekend? That was so… exhilarating (熱血)!" Then she showed me a video recording shot by one of the high school students, in which six high school seniors secretly had a Taiwanese flag-raising ceremony in their classroom.

In the video recording, these students sang the national anthem of ROC followed by the song of national flags together in front of the big national flag of ROC they drew on the board in advance. To vividly recreate the ceremony they used to have in Taiwan, they made efforts to follow all steps of the ritual in as much detail as possible, including the procedure of the ceremony, the actors at the scene (students and the principal), and the posture of students. They even bent their knees as the melody progressed to perform the illusion that the flag was being

raised, and then another student slowly erased the flag from the board showing the flag climbing to the top of the pole. Students sang loudly in harmony and gave a serious and earnest salute to the flag while they adopted the standard posture, a stance that most students in Taiwan might find to be excessive. They looked much more serious than they usually did when they sang songs. After singing these two songs, the student as pretend-to-be principal made a funny, short, and nonsensical speech, which was interrupted by other students. This emulated ceremony ended in crazy laughter and hurrahs, demonstrating the student's use of humor, sarcasm, and outbursts as a form of release and coping strategy in these highly pressurized academic and political settings.

I brought this flag-raising issue up the next day when having lunch with the students at the school cafeteria. The students in the video recording usually sat together as a group that included several of the most outstanding high school seniors in the school. Some of them glanced around before our conversation began, reflecting the covert performance of Taiwanese nationalist sentiment while using dialect as a sign of identity conflation and fluidity.

Kai: Don't you think it is really cool that we can sing the national anthem here, in school? (He looked extremely excited.)

Mei: It is just too exhilarating!

(They talked to me at once about how they recalled the details of the ceremony together, how they drew the national flag, how two of them went out to check the absence of Chinese teachers in school, and how some other students who were present looked at their planning and contributed interesting ideas.)

Me: How did you guys feel about it?

Tang: [I] felt so proud! [I] felt that we were back to Taiwan. (laughing)

Mei: I am Taiwanese (uttered in Taiwanese dialect)! (Mei's nonstandard Taiwanese dialect made others laugh again.)

(When some other students repeated, "I am Taiwanese" in Taiwanese dialect in a fairly loud voice, students sitting next to us at another table took a look at our table, laughed and said, "You are all crazy." Some Chinese teachers sitting at another table did not even take a peek at those students, however.)

Tang: We made it! This is so great (太爽了)! They [the Chinese vice principal and teachers and the Chinese government they represent] did not allow us to have the flag-raising ceremony in school, so we did, but just not in front of them.

Me: You all…

Mei: We would not choose to fight against them in public. We know where the bottom line is. We wouldn't be so stupid to touch it… We do not want to bring trouble to our (Taiwanese) teachers and this school, too… Because we need this school.

Me: Weren't you afraid of being seen or discovered by the vice principal or other Chinese teachers?

Kai: Anyway, we did not break any rules. We [those students in the video recording] just wanted to prove that we [Taiwan and China or ROC and PRC] are two countries. Taiwan is not a part of China as those A-la-a [a disparaging term for local Chinese people] always say.

Tang: Yep. They were not at school on weekends, so how could they know? If the vice principal really knew… I don't know... Our relationship with him was not bad, and we were always being very sweet to him. And he treated us well too.…

Me: Did you show this to others?

Kai: We showed it to other classmates, and they laughed a lot. They thought this was so exhilarating as well!

Mei: I showed it to Teacher Chen [a Taiwanese male teacher very close to her] as well.

Me: Did he say anything?

Mei: (laughing) He just watched and smiled… and told me not to go too far... I told him that I knew where the bottom line is. Then he talked about something else.

I was very surprised to learn how meaningful this school ritual, resented by most students in Taiwan and also in Mainland China, was to these students. Having the ritual with so many details reenacted was significant to these students, because they "wanted to have the same thing we had before in Taiwan," not only to resist China's political ideology and domination, but also to release their nostalgia that they shared with each other. Hence, the national flag and national anthem were not just meaningless political symbols for transmigrant youth, but rather were figures or icons representing their affection for their motherland and also their group belonging. In this story, their different political ideology was used by the students to differentiate themselves from Chinese people while the nostalgia they shared in ritual performance as they experienced in their past strengthened their group identities and nationalist leanings. Indeed, my research participants displayed much more resistance than acceptance to China's political ideology that their local school teachers made efforts to convey.

Teacher and Political Identity

Within the highly structured institution of school, legitimized political ideology is usually delivered through school authority figures, including teachers and high-ranking administrative

managers, such as principals. These school authority figures play a significant role in mediating or worsening students' preexisting conflicts with the dominant ideology, or on the contrary, stimulating or enhancing students' identities with the given political ideology. This section shows how Chinese teachers in local schools play a wide range of roles in shaping and reshaping students' identity during their process of identification. Compared to the variety of roles which Chinese teachers in Mingdao play, the roles of Taiwanese teachers in Taishang is that of mediators and stimulators when the dominant political ideology of the school is opposite to that of Mingdao and the outside local society. Interestingly, Chinese teachers in Taishang, as the minority group in school representing an opposite ideology, may offer a possible source of political conflict for the young transmigrants.

Teachers in Mingdao

Based on my concerns about being the only teacher with a Taiwanese background and my experiences of encountering challenging political questions during my first few days in Mingdao, I chose to take field notes from my class and use school observations and my casual chats with Chinese students and teachers to gather data, rather than to conduct formal interviews with them. I did not want to be too intrusive or even challenging to their school political culture just by being on site. During my one-semester research at Mingdao, I did become closer to the Chinese teachers who accommodated me in their office. Most teachers in that office mainly taught middle school classes, from Chinese literature and math to history and politics. I had many opportunities to hear their conversations, and to talk with them every day.

Even though I often heard these teachers' political and social criticism of China's government and the Communist Party in the office, it was interesting to notice that those critical

remarks were almost nonexistent outside the office, such as in the school cafeteria where more teachers were gathered. When I experienced their political conversations and listened to their opinions in the office, I was startled, even though I tended to look calm on the outside. This was because I did not expect to hear any political discussions in the office of Mingdao, particularly when I was present. I noticed that some teachers glanced at me the first time that they discussed politics in my presence. As time went on, my presence seemed to be less intrusive since the political conversations between teachers in the office were becoming more frequent, and they were becoming used to my presence. Their conversations sometimes paused when other teachers or staff at the management level came in, and then continued after they left. Yet the students' presence did not seem to concern them at all. The teachers' office thus served as a semi-private place for teachers, who had enough mutual social trust to share their political and societal opinions. The Chinese teachers often expressed their critical opinions of the government and even the Party, from the Cultural Revolution, political corruption, and the one-child policy to the bureaucracy of China's government. But they also understood the bottom line, and never spoke of the 1989 Tiananmen Square incident, the ongoing Tibet or Uighur Autonomous Region problems (whose populations strongly oppose what has been heavy-handed Chinese rule), or, of course, the Taiwan issue – at least in front of me. And I was on site almost every day for the whole semester.

With 17 students with Taiwanese backgrounds at the middle school in Mingdao, I paid particular attention to how they were portrayed and evaluated in teachers' conversations and how they were treated in school. These conversations gave rise to the theme that Taiwanese students were considered as "political isolators." For example, one day in the middle of the spring semester, Ting, a 7th grade female student from Taiwan, was called to the office by her politics

teacher for her bad score on an exam. When the teacher criticized Ting for too many mistakes on her exam, he pointed at some specific questions she got wrong on the exam paper.

Teacher: (sitting on his chair and pointing at the student's exam paper) Why don't you know the answer to this question? You did not know who our country's first astronaut is?

(Ting did not answer the teacher's query, but stood beside the teacher's chair and just looked at her exam paper with her head down.)

Teacher: Why don't you even know this? You know too little about our country. Did you watch news at home? You [all you students] shouldn't just only watch some trash TV shows, but you need to watch some news when you have time. So you can know more domestic current events… Who is the current President [President of the People's Republic of China]?

Ting: (She still looked at her exam paper without saying a word.)

(The teacher shook his head and sipped some tea from his cup. All of a sudden, the teacher turned his head to me.)

Teacher: Xiao Wang, You tell me[27]… You come tell her. You tell her who the current President [of PRC] is.

(I did not reply to the teacher's question since I did not want to embarrass Ting any further, so I just showed the teacher my awkward smile, trying to get out of this situation. Meanwhile, the teacher did not intend to wait for my answer, but after heaving a sigh, he

[27] Speaking to me here, the teacher used the standard cultural phrase "You tell me (你來說說)" used when asking for the interlocutor's comments, and usually their supportive comments. I had heard "you tell me" a lot in Mingdao during teachers' daily conversations between each other.

waved his right hand with the student's exam paper in dismissal. After Ting left the office, another teacher told the teacher not to care too much.)

Teacher: (sitting back in his chair and then talking to me again) Xiao Wang, could you tell me what this is? What's wrong with these Taiwanese students? They know nothing, and care about nothing. You tell me… Since they have been studying here already, shouldn't they know more about…? Particularly since she is not a newcomer… (He sighed again and did not finish his words. I looked at him, gave him the same uncomfortable but understanding smile as always, and nodded my head.)

In my individual interview with Ting, she told me that she intentionally left some answers blank since she did not want to write the answers that "they [her Chinese teachers] wanted." Even though she was scolded in the office, she felt "very good (很爽)."

When lunchtime approached, I walked with Jing to the school cafeteria. On the way I asked her about her observations of students from Taiwan[28] by using the incident that had occurred that morning in the office as a prelude. She shared her thoughts with me.

Jing: It happens all the time. (Me: What?) We really do not know what those Taiwanese children (台灣小孩) think. They should have received a lot of influences already, and you may be able to see the changes in their accents if they came here earlier or have lived here long enough. They can also write simplified Chinese characters after a while. But I don't

[28] I used the term "students from Taiwan (從台灣來的學生)" instead of "Taiwanese student (台灣學生)" and also use "local student (本地學生)" instead of "Mainland student (大陸學生)" to indicate "Chinese student" described herein, in order to avoid any possible misunderstanding or conflict between Mingdao teachers and me caused by using confusing nationality terms.

know why… For some of them, their thoughts just don't change.[29] They know nothing about this place where they are living. They don't care what is happening now either. Last time, Teacher Zhao asked a Taiwanese parent to come to school since his child messed up on a politics quiz, and her grade seriously lowered the average of the whole class and even the school. Do you know how his father responded to Teacher Zhao? He said, "The leader of China [the President of PRC]? Isn't the leader of China Chen Shui-bian?" (the disgraced former president of Taiwan). Teacher Zhao was so angry and speechless. He gave up on that student after that. You say… Have you seen this kind of student and parent? If you [Taiwanese students] wanted to study here, you would need to follow the rules here. Taiwan is part of China. There is nothing else to say about it. That is it. If you don't agree, you can go to other schools. Anyway, Taiwanese people are rich. They can go to any schools they want.

I did not say a word during this conversation. Besides Jing's comments on students from Taiwan in Mingdao and the story she shared, I was also thinking how she used the pronoun "they" to indicate people from Taiwan in her statement, and why she excluded me from "that" group. In Mingdao, when Chinese teachers talked about anything related to Taiwan, I was placed in the categories of "they" and/or "you (the plural form)" in various contexts and by different teachers.

In general, the lack of attention to, interest in, and concern with local and "domestic" affairs, particularly societal and political matters, was a common characteristic of Taiwanese students regardless of what schools they attended. This disinterest was repeatedly criticized by local

[29] The original phrase from the teacher is "他們的想法就是不能改變." From her original Chinese wording, it is hard to tell whether this teacher meant that those students could not actively change by themselves, or their thoughts (minds) could not be passively changed, perhaps referring to the second interpretation.

Chinese teachers. Yet what looked like a lack of interest was in some cases defiance in cooperating with Chinese authority figures, even at the level of answering certain questions on exams. Another research participant who attended a different local school told me that she showed her active resistance on small politics quizzes when answering politically sensitive questions, but employed a strategy of compromise when the exam was important. She said, "I wrote 'true answers' (真正的答案) on those quizzes that were not that important, like our monthly quizzes in school, but I wrote 'politically correct answers' (對的答案)" even though I knew what the 'essentially correct answers' (真正對的答案) were."

Through their methods of choosing whether to answer politically sensitive questions on school exams or when asked by teachers, Taiwanese students showed their strategies of resistance and compromise when dealing with political encounters in their daily lives. The "who is 'our' President" incident also presents how political or national ideology is deeply embedded in school, not only through teachers, but also through curriculum materials, such as exams. In the local school, exams even represent a more demanding power over those students than textbooks and individual teachers, since students may choose not to read textbooks or absorb the ideology embedded in the textbooks, or they may not acquire the ideology conveyed by their teachers. Nevertheless, under the pressure and requirement of school exams, students have to know the "correct answers" to respond to these political questions, and those answers with their "substantive" or "performed" ideologies need to be validated by exams. Even though quizzes and exams tend to play a role in demanding that students validate their political identity, these tests also serve as the space in which students can show or conceal their resistance to official ideology.

Taiwanese Teachers in Taishang

Teachers, with whom students have close interaction in their daily lives, can be the source of students' political identity or the source of political conflicts. In Taishang School, Taiwanese and Chinese teachers exemplify these two roles of teachers in shaping the political identities of students. Students in Taishang have very close relationships with their Taiwanese teachers since most of them live in school dorms, and they both have experiences similar to transmigrants, and surely, may share the same political ideology with each other. My research shows that Taiwanese teachers intended to provide students with a shelter from their political ideology battles with the outside society, and also to guide students to rethink the value of identity from other perspectives. On the other hand, my experience suggests that having daily interactions with Chinese teachers and local students who represent a different or even contradictory ideology forces young transmigrants into negative political encounters (such as being scolded by Chinese teachers) and further distances them from identifying with China.

During my two-semester period in Taishang School, I rarely heard any Taiwanese teachers express strong political opinions in public or in private, even though I shared the same office with nine Taiwanese teachers (and two foreigners), had lunch and dinner with different Taiwanese and Chinese teachers during weekdays, hung out with some Taiwanese teachers on weekends, and stayed with a Taiwanese teacher in one dorm room during the second semester. Political issues are always one of the main concerns and topics in daily conversations in Taiwan, since Taiwanese society is full of highly politicized messages. I had been wondering why teachers in the Taishang School were so politically apathetic compared to people in Taiwan. Gradually, however, I became aware of the unspoken understanding between Taiwanese teachers. "There is no need and it is not appropriate to talk about it," said Teacher Guan, a Taiwanese

teacher who had good relationships with both Taiwanese and Chinese teachers, who shared his observation and opinions on a bus when we headed to Shanghai City one weekend.

> Teacher Guan: "You don't need to say what everyone already knows, right? Besides, we have local Chinese teachers and also the vice principal here, in school. It would be very disrespectful to them and too provoking if we talked about politics in school. Also, even though Taiwanese teachers have different opinions towards politics, what is the point of talking about it? Particularly, we are all in other people's territory, and also in such a tiny school. What is the point of causing any conflicts between Taiwanese teachers and Chinese teachers, or even between Taiwanese teachers? Who is red, who is blue and who is green?[30] You are deep green and I am light blue? How could we work together if we label each other by colors?" In addition, we [Taiwanese teachers] all know what the baseline is in our minds. The fundamental consensus we share is that Taiwan is Taiwan, and China is China. It is like America, people have different political opinions, but it doesn't mean that they do not all love their country, right? We also try not to talk about politics in class to show our respect to the vice principal who has been very nice and helpful to our students, teachers, and school. As for students in this school, some of them have much stronger political positions than we do. So there is no need to talk about politics. They all have their own thinking given from their parents, and influenced by media and the outside world. There is not much a teacher can do to influence their political preferences, particularly at their [high school] age. There is no way to teach them so-called identity, but they will build up their own when things happen to them.

[30] Colors here indicate different political parties. Red refers to the CCP, green means the DPP, and blue represents the KMT.

Me: Did any Chinese teacher mention politics in school that you were aware of?

Teacher Guan: (laughing) Sometimes the vice principal needed to make a speech, and as you know, he might not have straightforwardly talked about Taiwan being part of China, but you know… something like 'being Chinese, we should….' Based on my observations, only Taiwanese teachers listened, but not our students, nor even Chinese teachers (laughing again). And other Chinese teachers also know that it is too sensitive to talk about politics in this school.

According to Teacher Guan, since teachers have various ideologies that range across the political spectrum, it is important and necessary to exclude political conversations between teachers in Taishang School. This school may be able to accommodate conflicting political ideologies despite no obvious signs of their being a space for their integration, however. Based on my classroom observations and from my interviews with students and parents, Taiwanese teachers in Taishang School did tend to stand in a relatively neutral position in shaping students' political opinions. It was Taishang students who often brought up political issues in their classes and tried to ask for their teachers' feedback and comments.

Some Taiwanese teachers even told me that based on their observations and experiences, Taiwanese students who had studied and "been wounded" in local schools showed a stronger defensive identity with Taiwan than others, and asked more politically critical questions in class, through which they wanted to strive for recognition of their "political wounds" and also gain more supporters to uphold their thoughts against China. A Chinese literature teacher in her sixties explained her understanding of these wounded students, and her attitudes reflected some Taiwanese teachers' standpoints as well.

"Localized? These kids? I think you would rather say resistance (sighing). The longer they have stayed here, the more they want to go home, go back to Taiwan. I have seen that too many of our students who transferred from local schools were excluded by local students or suppressed by their teachers. They were often asked political questions in class and forced to stand on one side. How would you feel if you were them? So [teachers in local schools] should let them be (隨他們去). For kids at their ages, the more you oppress them, the stronger they bounce back against you. I do not mean to overlook their behaviors regarding morality, but I mean that their thinking and behaviors in terms of their political attitudes should not be constrained. You just need to let them know there is a line that they cannot cross, then they would have proper limits for their speech and action (他們會有分寸). If we [Taishang School] also strictly restrain or prohibit students from expressing political opinions, how will we be different from them [the Chinese government or local schools]?"

Taiwanese teachers in Taishang School generally adopted a relatively passive laissez-faire or actively open attitude towards their students' opinions or behaviors regarding political ideology and reference. Like an example illustrated earlier regarding my observation of the 12th-grade civics class, when sensitive political topics were brought up by students in class, Taiwanese teachers usually gave students a few minutes and some flexible space to express their discontent and emotion about China, and pulled their attention back to class topics without too many comments from each side. I observed a similar pattern of conversations repeatedly occurring in many different subject classes in Taishang School.

The teacher in my class observation indicated that students' political opinions will not hurt "the important essentials" (無傷大雅) since "they need some opportunities to release their depressed and suppressed emotions in this environment, because they do feel uncomfortable living in this place. China's political problem is what they can attack since China is not a democratic country, but Taiwan is." Taiwanese teachers also believe that "supervised flexibility" can give students the space to learn what "democracy" and "free speech" are in such a constrained environment, and learn that "things have their own bottom lines," as well. During my fieldwork period, I saw that some students were penalized for misbehaving at Taishang, but I never knew of anyone who was punished for "crossing the political line." Under the mutual understanding of an untouchable line in school as the prerequisite, when Taiwanese teachers had discretionary power regarding students' political opinions and remarks expressed in class, political speech freedom was allowed and even covertly supported to some degree, in part to differentiate Taishang School from local schools and China's dictatorship. Without making comments on China's political ideology, interestingly, from my observations, Taiwanese teachers rather often criticized Taiwan's political problems, an attitude which they called "tough love (愛之深，責之切)." Their criticism of Taiwan's problems sometimes caused students to debate with them or with each other, and those debates were even encouraged by Taiwanese teachers.

When giving students some space to build up and share their political identities, some teachers tended to guide these students' thinking out of a China-or-Taiwan box to a relatively international perspective. I noticed that the expression "having the international perspective (有國際觀)" was repeatedly brought up and emphasized by different teachers in classes in Taishang School. Aside from underlining the importance of having an international perspective, teachers

also shared their deep concerns with some students' strong political opinions with me. For example, a teacher explained her worries to me using a slightly harsh and distressing tone.

> I have worried about these kids. They only see what is ahead of them, but they do not see the whole picture of history. They only care how uncomfortable they are under the restrictions of the external environment, and they have turned everything objectionable to them into political reasons as their excuse for continuing to dislike this place. Do they really know about the essential meanings of communism and capitalism, or are they able to clearly tell you about the good and bad aspects of different so-called "ideologies," and also give you any sound reasons for their preferences? I don't think so. For example, I believe that very few students in this school would be able to tell you how important it is for Taiwan to be accepted by other counties to join the WHO, or tell you how serious the consequences are that Taiwan is excluded by China from a lot of economic agreements in East Asia. For others, they just keep saying that 'they are Taiwanese' and 'Taiwan cannot be unified by China' without being able to tell you their solid and logical reasons… because this is what they only have here, in another people's land. If they do not say they are Taiwanese, Taiwan is not China, they will be nothing, no one. So I don't think that they understand what it means to 'love Taiwan.[31]' This is just lip-service identity (嘴巴上說說的), to keep each other warm (互相取暖). They should take advantage of residing here, in Mainland China, a place different from Taiwan. Not just resist. Resist what? To change? I know that their being here is not voluntary, but forced by their parents. But they should embrace this change instead since they are here already. A lot of teachers and I always tell them that they should

[31] "Love Taiwan" is a common term used to express patriotism in Taiwan.

> walk out of their comfort zone to really and seriously look at this place and society, to learn with open minds. In particular, they live in Shanghai, a place full of many people from different countries. They should go out and see how international this city is. They do not have to go abroad to see the world, but people from the world are coming here to let them see.

When she focused on the separation of Taiwanese students from the local community and the world, as well as the importance of having an international perspective, this teacher also pointed out that "lip-service identity" and "highly socialized identity" are two characteristics of Taiwanese transmigrant youths' sense of political belonging. In Taishang School, Taiwan's political ideology became the mainstream social discourse, and even social culture, practiced in their everyday lives. That is, political identity serves as a very important source of group-based social belonging, particularly for young people in Taishang.

Chinese Teachers in Taishang

Unlike Taiwanese teachers in Taishang and their counterparts in local schools, as the majority group separately representing the socially dominant and legitimate ideologies, Chinese teachers in Taishang play a marginalized role in shaping or reshaping students' identities. Different from Taiwanese teachers giving students more space for political flexibility and concerns about their narrow perspective, Chinese teachers in Taishang School displayed less tolerance for those students' political divergences. Most Chinese teachers at Taishang School preferred not to comment on Taiwanese students even though we always had good chats, but nothing related to politics. Fortunately, I was able to interview four Chinese teachers even

though only one teacher was willing to let me record our conversation. The female Chinese teacher in her mid-twenties clearly and straightforwardly expressed her discontent with Taiwan's political ideology inscribed in textbooks and attitude towards the China-Taiwan relationship.

Chinese teacher: I can accept Chinese literature textbooks and math textbooks, but I absolutely cannot accept history, social studies, and politics [civics] textbooks [from Taiwan]. In our geography textbooks, China is the center of a map, and Asia is also the center. But those textbooks from Taiwan with Europe and the US at the center are very different from ours, and Asia is marginalized. As for the history textbooks, it is funnier (搞笑) and unbelievable (不可思議)! [They] have the term "communist bandit (共匪)." The more stickers we posted [on these textbooks for censorship], the more we wanted to laugh. As long as the term "communist bandit" appeared, we just decided to put a sticker on it. Do you have blue and green? After we looked [at your textbooks], we felt that Taiwan is pretty complicated…

(She continued to describe the differences between the math and English textbooks in the two places. I then turned my questions to how uneasy and challenging it was for her and other Chinese teachers to teach Taiwanese students in Taishang School. After she shared her thoughts about the different teaching and learning cultures in Taiwanese and Chinese schools, she mentioned the conflicts between Taiwanese students and Chinese teachers in Taishang School.)

Chinese teacher: Taiwanese children are really hard to discipline (被管教). I am not the only local [Chinese] teacher to think this way, but all local teachers in this school share the same thinking with me... (She described an incident when a Taiwanese elementary

student did not listen to her on a school bus, and how she disciplined that student.) I directly told him to get off the bus since I am a teacher, and he should listen to me. Then he still did not apologize, but sat back in his seat looking as if he didn't care. So I told him, "Go back to Taiwan! Why don't you go back to Taiwan if you do not listen to me just because I am a Mainlander teacher (陸籍老師)? You are in our territory. Don't you know that?" (She raised her voice.)

Me: What happened then?

Chinese teacher: He looked shocked, because I was very furious and just straightforwardly told him to go back to Taiwan to his face. Then he apologized to me, and from that time on he started to show respect to me whenever he saw me. I wanted him to know even though he may not want to come here, we too did not like him to be here, our place. You, Taiwanese people, always say that you are a country, but you are not. You [Taiwanese people] always say something about your wanting to be independent, but you [Taiwan] are so small, and you are not better than us in many ways… (She continued talking about the economic growth in China, and Taiwanese people coming here for money.)

I was surprised and appreciated that this Chinese teacher candidly revealed a lot of her "real" thinking and feelings to me, and shared what other Chinese teachers thought and felt with me in our interviews. I also realized how reluctant I was to interrupt her, and how carefully I chose my words during our interviews in order to keep her feeling comfortable talking with me. The resistance this Chinese teacher showed in her story to the dominant ideology within Taishang disclosed the essential nature of resistance – unbalanced power relations. This Chinese teacher used "stickers" as a means of power to show her resistance to the political ideology in Taiwan's

textbooks, and also displayed her disagreement with a student's resistance to her authority as a teacher by employing "the power of the host."

During our interview, I noticed that she barely mentioned Chinese teachers' interactions with high school students in Taishang, noting she had, "nothing much to say about high school students since they do not talk to us, and we do not like talking to them either. We are like invisible to them… Anyway, we do not care about them either. They are kids from rich families, and pay a lot of tuition to come here. We do not want to offend them either… anyway… Also, their thinking is fixed, so there is no way and no need to make them change their thoughts."

Another male Chinese teacher once told me the way he handled Taishang high school students.

> You need to treat them like friends. This is what I have learned from a lot of lessons… Once they see you as a friend, you can talk about everything with them, but everything does not include politics. Talking about politics would ruin the relationships that I had made the effort to build up. I once tried to tell them there's something good here [China] or some interesting places here, but they did not have any interest at all… So I gave up then… It may be because I am a Mainlander teacher… I believe that they would not dare to do the same thing in local schools.

The passages from these two Chinese teachers displayed the discrepant power relationship between local Chinese teachers and Taiwanese students in Taishang, endorsed by the population ratio and socio-economic status in school. They also indicate the rigidity and immobility of the political identity of Taishang high school students, from their teachers' perspective and

experiences. Hence, separation from each other and avoidance of political encounters seem to be the way to accommodate two conflicting ideologies under one roof.

Peers Political Identity Challenges in Mainland China

Aside from teachers, peers play a critical role in the daily lives of young transmigrants, particularly those in their adolescent years. But given the China-Taiwan thorny political context, Taiwanese transmigrants frequently encountered the challenges of political questions asked by their peers, in the Mainland and also in Taiwan. When these young people psychologically and socially need to build up identities with their groups at such ages, it is extremely challenging for them to handle the "mine questions" in their daily interactions with their counterparts.

Compared to most of the Taiwanese students in alliance with the political ideology in Taishang School, the majority of my research participants studying in Chinese schools, particularly in the local program, had experiences of repeatedly dealing with "political inquiry" from their different Chinese peers from time to time, especially when new political events related to the China-Taiwan relations occurred. The purpose of this political inquiry was to ask these newcomers to support China's ideology through their political confirmation or surrender to social norms. From those experiences shared by my research participants, the "political inquiry" seemed to turn from the explicit to implicit as they moved up to college from elementary school. These "experienced" transmigrant young people had developed their own strategies to deal with those "political grillings (政治拷問)," said Tim. A college student in his junior year who had lived in Shanghai for twelve years, Tim shared his interactional experiences with local Chinese and Taiwanese transmigrant students in Mainland China.

We had this interview at a Starbucks coffee shop in downtown Shanghai City on a Friday evening, since it was close to his school. Before he came to our interview, he'd already finished his school day in the morning, and had just played baseball with his Taiwanese friends in the afternoon. This is a small snapshot of his experiences growing up in Mainland China.

Tim: When I look back to my history of growing up in Mainland China today, I can see the history more clearly.

Me: How come?

Tim: It seems like what was very difficult and even bloody in the past is not that bitter now.

Me: (I nodded my head) Hmm… What happened?

Tim: I came here when I was eight years old. I went to the 2nd grade at a local school. Back at that time, having a Taiwanese child in school was very rare. So a lot of teachers and students came to see me and even touched my face to see if I was different from them. Anything I did, in class or in school, was all magnified to represent the behaviors of all Taiwanese people. It was very stressful to live like that at school.

Me: Since you were the only Taiwanese student in school, were you treated similarly to other students?

Tim: Hmm. They [teachers and students] treated me like other students most of the time, but things became different whenever they were talking about politics.

Me: For example?

Tim: I was "interrogated (質問)" about my political thinking and position too many times, both during and after my elementary school. Particularly in the elementary school, children were rude and very straightforward. They liked to ask me, "How many Chinas

do you think there are?" or "Hey, Tim, is Taiwan part of China?" They even called me "taibazi (台巴子)," a derogatory term to describe Taiwanese people, for fun… Once one child started calling me "taibazi," it became my label during my elementary years. That reminded me of the "struggle session (批鬥大會)[32]" during the Cultural Revolution, and I felt that I was even a monkey in a cage. They were like…. They surrounded me, and poked me with those questions to see how I reacted… It was really bad. (He gave me a bitter smile and shook his head.) Then you learned to say what they wanted to hear.

Me: (I returned the bitter smile.) Did things get better when you went to middle and high school?

Tim: (laughing) It was…. fine. I was asked those same questions by my teachers and classmates all the time when I went to a new school and a new class, or met new friends, even until now. Local students have very strong national identity attachment to their country. I think… this is because their patriotic education is carried out very completely and thoroughly in school, and also in the media. You cannot say anything bad about their country even though they can be very critical of their country too, but the criticism is just limited to themselves. It is like… In the past, they did not care about the "Duanwu Festival (the Dragon Boat Festival, 端午節)[33]," but since Koreans claimed that the Duanwu Festival was theirs, the Festival receives a lot of attention here now. It is "the great power consciousness (大國心態)" – I can step on it with my own feet if I don't like it, but you are not allowed to pick it up and put it on your head as a hat. They have a

[32] "Struggle session" was a form of public humiliation used by the Communist Party of China in the most radicalized Mao Zedong era. It is used to shape public opinion and humiliate, persecute, or even as a prelude to the execution of political rivals.

[33] Dragon Boat Festival is one of the most important holidays in traditional Chinese culture, celebrated on May 5th of the lunar calendar.

very strange, strong, and even crazy patriotism. All things can ascend to the level of patriotism. Like ping pong and soccer. Ping pong is like their national ball game, so every student is crazy about playing ping pong, but they [Chinese people] are not good at playing soccer, so if you like playing soccer, you are… they would despise you, and think you are a "betrayer (賣國賊)"… then no one would play with you… You know, everything is politicized… Even festivals and sports…

Me: (laughing) You like playing soccer?

Tim: (laughing) Yes. So I was excluded by my classmates in middle school. But I gradually learned not to piss them off, and maintained my own thoughts in my mind.

Me: Your own thoughts?

Tim: (nodding his head and looking directly at me) Taiwan is a country, and… cannot be unified with China.

Me: Why?

Tim: Taiwan is a democratic country, but here? You cannot even speak loud… even though they always talk very loud. (He was laughing sarcastically.)

Tim's story shows how China's ideology dominates local Chinese students' political thinking and also how political questioning is an unavoidable procedure for developing a sense of group belonging in local schools, particularly for those Taiwanese transmigrants who have to learn to compromise in different scenarios. Yet his political identity was not transformed by his negative experiences of political encounters, but rather reinforced in relation to recognizing the democracy of Taiwan. Tim's experience also displays how national and political identities can be strengthened by the power relation between nation-states through national pride as well as

contempt for others. Cultural festivals and social activities can thus be used as political means to distinguish and segregate self and others.

Political Assimilation with Peers in Mainland China

One of my participants, Kim, a 7th female grader in Mingdao, revealed a different pattern from Tim's case, in showing how social interactions with local peers influence transmigrants' political preference. Kate was a newcomer, living in Shanghai for a little longer than one year. Like most students, she lived in a dorm with three local students. I went over to chat with her and her roommates sometimes at night in order to learn more about her interactions with her cohorts, and sometimes she and her friends came to my door too. One winter night, I went over to have a causal chat with them as usual. When I asked one local student if she saw Kate do anything differently from other local students, she brought up the issue of political identity, and then other students joined our conversation.

Me: When did you know Kate was a student from Taiwan?

Student A: (sitting on a lower bunk) Before she came to our class, our homeroom teacher already told us [that our new classmate is from Taiwan]. We had another classmate from Taiwan too, and… other classes have some Taiwanese people, too, so it was not uncommon (smiling).

Me: Since she has come to this school, have you seen her do anything differently?

Student A: (thinking for a second) No, I did not see her being different from us… (thinking for another second) Oh, yes. (laughing) She ate something… some fruit we did not eat. (Kate explained what she ate was "guava (芭樂)." She said "guava" in Taiwanese

dialect) … And, her thinking was a little different when she first came. She said Taiwan was not [part of] China before. (laughing)

(I smiled and looked at Kate to see if she felt uncomfortable about this topic. She had a big smile but looked a little embarrassed smile when I turned to her. She was standing beside a bunk bed. The other two girls sitting together on one of the upper bunk beds were laughing too. I did not pick up the conversation since I wanted to know how this topic would be continued on its own.)

Student B: Yes, she did. (laughing) Our teacher asked her if she thought Taiwan was part of China, and you know… She said no. (laughing again)

Student B asked Kate, "Is Taiwan part of China?"

Kate nodded her head, and replied with a lively tone, "Yes!" (laughing) "Stop teasing me." Then she turned to me and said, "They always repeatedly asked me this question to test me (考我)." (Other girls were laughing with her.)

Student A: She is the same as us now. (They continued by telling me Kate cried at night in the beginning of her life in Mingdao.)

I asked Kate the same question in our individual interview when she talked about the differences between her school in Taiwan and Shanghai. She brought up the political question again in our interview. She told me she felt confused in the beginning after she came to this school since textbooks in schools in Taiwan presented a different and even opposite historical and political perspective.

> Kate: You could see that Chiang Kai-shek tried to kill Mao Zedong in Taiwan's textbooks, and see that Mao Zedong tried to kill Chiang Kai-shek here. In Taiwan, Chiang Kai-shek seems to be the hero, but here, Mao Zedong is the real hero… He stood with farmers and saved a lot of ordinary people, but Chiang Kai-shek tended to make money for himself only.

She added, "I feel that Taiwan is part of China 'now' because all the teachers and my classmates say so." Kate was not the only student from Taiwan in her class, but she was closer to local students in her class. When I asked her what her parents said at home, she shrugged her shoulders and told me, "They did not talk about politics much. When I asked, they just said, 'Kids do not have to know about politics.'" Kate went back to Taiwan every summer, and most of her relatives are still in Taiwan, but they did not talk about politics in her family. She also told me that she did not know if she would stay in Shanghai or move back to Taiwan later since her mother told her, "All things are unclear and uncertain." When we spoke about topics regarding politics in our interview, Kate smiled at me from time to time without any hesitation or confused facial expressions.

Kate's case showed me the power of peers and also teachers in transforming individuals' political identity, where making transmigrant youth assimilate into local political ideology through daily social interactions carrying political messages was common. Different from Tim's case, Kate's peers and teachers created a positive experience for her to "acquire and learn" the socialized and legitimized political ideology. Also, this political conversation and phrasing seemed to become a social code and agreement for rapport among them through reconfirmations, compared to the political questions which seemed to serve as an offensive signal to prevent, hinder, or undermine Tim's relationships with his Chinese cohorts. Most importantly, the magic

key to harmonious friendships with their Mainland cohorts is the "politically and socially correct" answer to sensitive or loaded questions.

Political Counter-Assimilation with Peers in Mainland China

In my fieldwork, I rarely heard sincere recognition of the one-China principle from a young Taiwanese transmigrant. Interestingly, I did learn of rare situations of political counter-assimilation. When Han, one of my Taishang research participants who had studied for two years in a local school, talked about his local schooling experience, he shared his experience of never being excluded by his local classmates since his academic performance was one of the best in class.

Han: I never felt that I was excluded since I was one of the best students.

Me: (nodding my head, and raising my voice) Never?

Han: Never. Even though a lot of my friends said they were discriminated against in local schools, and asked political questions, I never felt pressured.

Me: Your classmates never asked you anything about Taiwan-China relations?

Han: (laughing) They did. But I always said that Taiwan is not part of China. Taiwan is a country.

Me: You said it? (raising my voice) Really?

Han: Yes, I did. And I also told them what they were taught is wrong. They were imbued with too much wrong information. They needed to know what is right.

Me: How did you dare to say it in school, I mean… in a local school? Didn't you worry?

Han: (laughing and shaking his head) No, I did not worry. Since I was a very good student [academically] in that school, I had the confidence and privilege to say it to my classmates, after class or even in class.

Me: How did they react to your political opinions?

Han: Not much. It's okay. (laughing) I just had to say it. It would be okay if they did not accept it.

Me: Did what you say about politics impact your relationship with your classmates?

Han: No, not at all. We were still good friends. We played basketball during weekends when we had time, and we still keep in contact now even though they are really busy lately with their crazy daily schedule… But I will ask them if they want to visit Taiwan after I go back.

Han's mother told me that the reason for Han's transferring to Taishang was that their family was planning to go back to Taiwan instead of staying in Mainland China. Han's older sister went to a university in Southern China since staying in the Mainland had been their original plan. Han's mother also told me that they did not prefer to tell their children what to do, but gave them options and explained the pros and cons of different options so they could make their own choices, including schooling, which was confirmed by Han. Han chose a local school when he was an 8th grader, and decided to transfer to Taishang when he was in the 10th grade even though he was enrolled in a well-known local high school. Taishang would provide better preparation for continuing his schooling when they returned to Taiwan, as he explained.

> You just have to make a choice that's best for you at that moment. Even though I knew I may be questioned [politically, in a local school], I was not afraid. What is right is right. I know the different [political] thinking between two sides [Taiwan and Mainland China]… since I read some books, and listened to and asked people's thoughts, and I… watched TV [news] in Taiwan and Mainland China… So I know… what is *true* (真的). Maybe some people think it is not *right* (對的), but it is the truth. I did not provoke them in public, but they knew what I thought, so they did not give me any difficulty in public either… But that may be because I was a good student… (laughing)… maybe they did not want to lose a good student… (After I asked him if he may change his political identity in the future, he laughed and gave me an uncertain answer.) I… don't know now. It may be possible… since I am not sure my thinking is clear enough now, and… maybe China will become a democratic country someday… but maybe not… since it will be too hard for China to become a completely democratic country. They have too many people…. But if China becomes a democratic country, it will not be too difficult to accept the words, "I am Chinese." Right? (He laughed again.)

Han's political position and the challenges he may face seemed not to be a concern to himself or his parents. His mother attributed his "independent and critical thinking" and "open-mindedness" to his personality, not easily influenced by the outside, but he was trying to look for answers on his own since he was little. That Han's "courage" was not "severely" oppressed in the local school was also attributed to his excellent academic performance according to his and his mother's confirmation. Good academic performance represents a power and privilege for students who subsequently have some flexibility in being a little different, including having a

divergent political thinking, as long as the difference is manageable. My research shows that the culture of limited privilege and flexibility in expressing political opinions supported by academic excellence is somehow tolerable in local Chinese schools. Those Taiwanese students with outstanding academic records and a relatively strong recognition of Taiwan's independence at local schools are generally aware of their "academic advantage" and "political disadvantage," and usually adopt diverse strategies to demonstrate their Taiwanese identity explicitly and implicitly. In addition, Han shows how he explored the discrepancies between the political ideologies dominant in Taiwan and China, and on what ground he chose his identity. The democracy of Taiwan, in my research, is a solid political foundation that young transmigrants identify with. Through consideration of the possibility of democratization of China, the youth in my study reflected the variability of their political identities.

Challenges from Peers in Taiwan

Transmigrant young people were also often "politically questioned" by their peers in Taiwan when moving back to Taiwan after their "long-stay" in Mainland China, or even when just going back for short visits during summer and winter breaks. Kai shared his experience of being "teased" and "discriminated" by his counterparts in Taiwan.

Kai: We [Taiwanese transmigrant youth] are so pathetic (可憐). We are like stuck in-between.

Me: What do you mean?

Kai: When I was here, A-la-a asked me if I am Chinese, and when I went back to Taiwan, they [people in Taiwan] questioned me if I am Taiwanese. They seemed to think that I

did not consider myself Taiwanese or that I did not love Taiwan after I moved here. Fuck! Coming here was not what I myself wanted. But I did not have any choice. But I am still Taiwanese.

Me: Did anyone say anything to you?

Kai: Last summer, I went back to Taipei for a summer camp in a college in which a lot of high school students from many places in Taiwan also participated. Since they knew I was from Taishang School, they started to call me "A-la-a." And more ridiculously, they even asked me if Taiwan is part of China as those "A-la-a" did here… They did not understand what we went through here, but just stupidly questioned our loyalty [to Taiwan.] (He looked a little upset.)

Me: How about your friends in Taiwan? Did you keep in touch with your friends in Taiwan? (Kai nodded his head) Did they say anything about your moving to Mainland China?

Kai: (raising his voice with a smile) They… They also said, "You now become A-la-a" because they thought my accent had changed. But it has not. Fuck!

Me: How did you feel at that time and what did you say to them?

Kai: I felt "very horrible (很幹啊)!" (laughing) I told them "fuck off!" even though I knew they were just joking.

Kai's story illustrates the "in-between" position of transmigrant youth, stuck between their counterparts in Mainland China and Taiwan. Some of these young travelers are not recognized in Mainland China, the new place where they "have to" reside, and neither are they necessarily welcome back in Taiwan, their homeland. It is thus a form of "double exclusion" for these young people, traveling between two places, but being politically questioned and even pushed by their

peers in both places. “In-between” could be a positioning decision made by individuals, or could be a non-option for them to choose, and which is instead is placed upon them by others. The nature and dilemma of this marginal status is particularly embodied in the political dimensions of young transmigrant lives.

Society and Political Identity

Transmigrant youths confronted identity questioning not only within school from their teachers and peers, but also in their outside communities and societies, in both Mainland China and Taiwan, from ordinary people and public discourse. Since most of my research participants reached an age that granted them some level of freedom to go out on their own without their parents’ company, they shared similar experiences of having to manage challenging people in both societies.

Ke, a Taishang high school student studying in a local Chinese middle school for three years, told me how she handled such political questions and how she felt about people in Shanghai and Taiwan who were “crazy” about politics, right after we got off a taxi in downtown Shanghai for another “wandering” weekend.

Me: Ke, that was my first time hearing you speak the Shanghai dialect to the locals. You really can speak Shanghai dialect like you told me! (laughing)

Ke: See, I told you (smiling) I told you that I always talked to taxi drivers in the Shanghai dialect, so they would not cheat me by taking a detour or charging me more, like they always do to Taiwanese people. Also, if I spoke Shanghai dialect to them, they would not discover that I am a Taiwanese, which could save me a lot of trouble.

Me: Trouble?

Ke: Hmm... What we [Taiwanese people] hate most here is they [local taxi drivers] always like to ask us political questions. In the beginning after just moving here, I was not able to speak Shanghai dialect, and *whenever* [she spoke slowly to emphasize the word] we took a taxi, they *always* [also speaking slowly] asked us some questions, like, "What do you think of the unity of China and Taiwan?" Or they said, "Your Chen Shui-bian…" I really could not put up with it! How could you reply to them? Oh… Could I say, 'Yes, we want to be independent'? (rolling her eyes sarcastically). People here are really crazy about politics… but people in Taiwan are, too. (She rolled her eyes again.) But compared to Taiwanese people, people here (Chinese people) do love their country more than Taiwanese people do. Their patriotic fanaticism would really astonish me. (raising her voice and opening her eyes wider)

Me: Ke, give me an example.

Ke: Hmm… (thinking for a second) I remembered once at a restaurant, the TV was showing some news about China's sports team… they kind of won an international competition… and the sportsman was singing their national anthem. Then a bunch of local people were just standing up, singing with him, and hurrahing very loudly… To be honest, that scared me. (raising her voice and making an ugly face)

I: Why was it scary? Didn't you feel exhilarated?

Ke: Because you could feel how powerful they are, I mean, think of their population… If they all think that we are part of them… (opening her eyes bigger again and looking at me)

Me: So what did you say when taxi drivers asked you where you were from?

Ke: They do not ask me such a question now since I can speak Shanghai dialect like a native. (laughing)

Me: How about before?

Ke: I usually said I was a Hongkongese, or I was from southern China… like many of our friends did. You know… some of my friends even pretended they were Koreans. (She imitated Korean pronunciations to fabricate a sentence. Then we were laughing together.) Look at me! (She pulled her face to make her eyes look smaller, and laughed. I slightly jogged her with my left elbow.) But, Hsiang-ning, you know what? We were asked the same question when we went back to Taiwan.

Me: What? (I showed her a face asking for further clarification.)

Ke: Yes. A lot of us were asked the same question in Taiwan, particularly when you lived here long enough to start having a Mainland accent. So… like my younger sister. She dislikes going back to Taiwan, because people in Taiwan always thought she is a Mainlander. It is because she does not have a Taiwan accent at all… Once I went back to Taiwan, when I took a taxi from the Taiyuan airport, the taxi driver asked me if I am a Mainlander since he thought my accent sounded like a Mainlander (rolling her eyes again and making a fricative sound to show her disagreement). He even still did not believe me when I seriously told him that I am a Taiwanese. I even spoke Taiwan dialect to him to try to make him believe me. I said, "Hello, I am Taiwanese." (She said this sentence in a non-standard Taiwanese dialect.) But I might be able to speak the Shanghai dialect better than the Taiwan dialect. (I laughed with her) Then finally after he believed that I am Taiwanese, he started to talk about what was shown on TV news in

Taiwan… Taiwanese businessmen turned "red," and left debt in Taiwan, and so forth... What should I say? Argue with him? (she raised her voice and looked a little upset)

Me: How did you respond?

Ke: I told him straightforwardly that I am just a student, and asked him not to talk about politics with me. Then I did not talk to him until I got out of the taxi. I was happy to go home, but that was the first thing I encountered, just after I arrived in Taiwan. (She gave me an impotent look.)

Me: (sighed) You felt annoyed, right?

Ke: Of course! I am just a student, and my dad went to Shanghai for his business. He did not care about politics at all, though. But they were often marked with a "red label," so were we. I felt I was wronged (委屈)… And even heartbroken… because… It was like you were questioned and considered as an outsider all the time, regardless of where you were. I need to act in Shanghai to protect myself, and I also need to act in Taiwan, my own place, to prove myself… I was regarded as a Mainlander in Taiwan, and a Taiwanese in Shanghai. So who am I actually? (She was suddenly laughing.)

Me: So who are you?

(She suddenly looked serious, and replied, "I don't know… You know, I asked myself this question many times… But… I don't know." Then she looked me in the eye, seriously and painfully. I gave her a smile, and said, "You are Ke, no matter where you are.")

Ke: Yes, I am Ke! (laughing in a silly and loud voice)

Young people like Ke are usually politically identified or asked about their affiliations by strangers based on their external features, such as accents as well as attire. Also, negative

messages and stereotypes about Taiwanese transmigrants dispersed through public discourse also serve as a source that strangers and even acquaintances may use to challenge them. Transmigrant youths feel hurt and disappointed when these challenges are from the fellows in their homeland. Hence, they have gradually learned from their daily social interactions with others to actively or passively, and overtly or covertly, resist top-down ideologies and interpersonal judgments in both societies, mostly for self-protection.

Showing a situated identity was a very common strategy employed by Taiwanese transmigrants in order to avoid daily "unnecessary conflicts" in their host land, particularly when they encountered random political questioning. These young travelers also faced political inquiry in Taiwan, their homeland, and the political questions were not only from random people they met on the street, but also from their neighbors, peers who they had known for a long time, or even relatives. The young people use various means, such as their language skills or social intelligence, to "perform" their "fabricated" identities in their host society on the one hand, but they need to "perform" as well in their own home, to gain others' belief in their "substantive" identities that they affirmed in the first place. The interpersonal interactions demonstrate how young transmigrants' identities are constructed and reconstructed through subjective affirmation and/or questioning and also through objective reconfirmation or questioning by insider as well as outsider groups.

Family and Political Identity

For most young transmigrants, when schools, communities, and societies usually play the part of battlefields for them, home plays the role of a "rescue station" or "supply warehouse" to comfort and support them when they have close and positive relationships with family members,

particularly parents. On the contrary, home serves as just another battleground for those transmigrant youth who do not have strong family relations.

The imposition of political ideology and questioning was an unavoidable situation for most young Taiwanese transmigrants, particularly for those young students attending local schools. Most parents of my research participants told me about their understanding and preparation for political challenges before they moved to Mainland China. But particularly those who have younger children shared with me how the impacts and challenges of political encounters were even bigger and harder for them to handle than for their children, since patriotic education is largely carried out at elementary and middle schools, and transmigrants at such an age have not been socialized enough to handle those political conflicts. I observed that most transmigrant families had built up different strategies to deal with possible political conflicts with local Chinese people. Among all these strategies, transmigrant young people are usually taught by their parents to avoid conflict by ignoring provoking remarks, skillfully dodging sensitive questions, and faking compliance.

I interviewed Kyle's parents at their stand-alone house, located in a suburb of Shanghai. They had sent their oldest son to a college in the UK, had their second son (Kyle) studying in Taishang School, and had their youngest daughter attending a local elementary school. After they explained their strategies and reasons for choosing different educational paths for their children, they brought up the unavoidable political challenges encountered by their children, and shared how they taught their children to deal with those situations. The following interview was conducted in their living room on a Sunday afternoon, where both of Kyle's parents were present. Interestingly, it was Kyle's father who contextualized how an "international" perspective meant the blurring of lines between the Chinese and Taiwanese identities.

Mother: After coming here, they have faced a lot of political shock… Oh, no, it is *we* [Kyle's mother and father] (she said this word with emphasis) who are facing stronger political shock than them. (She laughed and nodded her head. Her husband sat next to her.) I remembered the first time when my daughter had to tie a red scarf, I felt so tormented… It was like… what you were against… was tied on your daughter… (She shook her head), but my daughter herself seemed to feel nothing.

Me: Did you say anything to her?

Mother: No, I did not. I did not want to influence her. She needs to study with other kids in school. When her homeroom teacher told me that they needed to wear red scarves to school, I said okay even though I did not want her to. We didn't have a choice even though it looked like we did… (showing a bitter smile) Since we already decided to come here and place her in a local school, we knew this was what we had to do… what we needed to compromise on.

Me: Why did you send your daughter, and only your daughter, to a local school?

Father: We sent both our daughter and her brother [Kyle] to local schools, but her brother could not adjust to that environment, so we had to transfer him to the Taiwanese businessmen's school.

Mother: He felt much more comfortable and happier there [Taishang]. He was much older than his younger sister, so he could not get used to the local school like his sister did. When his classmates provoked him, asked him some questions… sensitive questions (nodding her head)… he easily got mad, and argued with them… At his age, you know… They easily get upset. But his sister was totally different… totally opposite from him.

Me: How so?

Mother: She has been pretty fine with all that stuff. That stuff seems not to be any problem for her… (nodding her head)

Father: (interrupting her wife's utterance and laughing) But it's a problem for her (Kyle's mother)…

Mother: (nodding her head and laughing) I remember when she came back home from school one day, she happily showed me her art work from school, a five-star flag painting that she drew in art class. That affected me a lot (opening her eyes wide). I felt so sad.

Me: Did you say anything to her?

Mother: No… I did not want to tell her… I was afraid of making her confused... I only told her that that was the national flag of Mainland China, but the national flag of Taiwan is different.

Father: (suddenly talking to me) We do have a national border… not without border.

Mother: But one time when we were back in Taiwan, in her grandpa's house, I heard Kyle's younger sister sing the national anthem of here [Mainland China] in the living room. I immediately covered her mouth, and told her not to sing that national anthem in Taiwan. I was so afraid that her grandpa might get mad. I told her, "That song only could be sang in Mainland China, but not in Taiwan. Otherwise, you would make people unhappy."

Me: Did you explain the reason?

Mother: No, I did not. Since she is still too young to understand politics… She needs to have contact with two thoughts… to judge… on her own… The most important thing for her at this age now is… moral education, not political education. But… her school gives these kids some… concepts. One time when my daughter came back home, she told me, "Mom, you cannot go to Jialefu (Carrefour, 家樂福)." I asked her why, and she told me that her

teachers and classmates all said that Carrefour was against the Chinese government in supporting the independence of Tibet… So "No one can go to Carrefour!" I told her about the incident a little bit, but also told her not to refute other people… since we are in another people's place, and we need to respect others' thoughts… I told her to show a neutral position… since we may go back to Taiwan eventually. If she is influenced by the ideology too much here, her thinking will be different. She may say, "You are part of our mother country (祖國)." How could this happen? You can say it here, but you cannot bring it back [to Taiwan].

Me: Hmm… How about Kyle?

Mother: Our two kids (Kyle and his younger sister) were very different. Kyle could not accept their thinking at all… not even a bit, but his younger sister merged into their lives very quickly. So we relocated him to Taishang School.

Father: But he identifies with Taiwan too much. I told him to have a broader view. Like his older brother, he is in the UK, and… has a lot of Chinese classmates and friends from other countries. No one cares if he is a Chinese or a Taiwanese. You need to have an international perspective. You need friends, particularly in a new place. If you always reject others, or resist the outside environment, how could you make friends? You only marginalize yourself. This is an internationalized world. Does making yourself marginalized do you any good? No! You need to associate with others to make yourself stronger. Just like... what we do in business. Why do you need to distinguish who is Chinese and who is Taiwanese? You are constraining yourself in your narrow mind. (He talked in a very serious tone, and then looked at his wife in the end. She nodded her head and looked worried.)

Mother: I always told them that they are here to study. Stay away from any political matters. We are a businessman's family. We don't want to get involved in anything political. This is not our own place.

Like many parents of my research participants, Kyle's parents are highly cautious about discussing political topics and teach their transmigrant children, regardless of their ages, how to "perform their identities" in situated contexts for collective harmony and also for personal, practical needs and benefits. While Kyle's parents tended to play down their own ideology and identity in their family education, during my individual interview with Kyle he was clearly aware of his parents' political position because his parents often make political comments when watching TV news at home. Rather than having strong political identities, their parents preferred that Kyle and his sister stand in a neutral position. Kyle's father repeatedly emphasized the concept of "internationalization," the term I had constantly heard from my research participants, including students, their parents, and teachers. However, under the concept of so-called "internationalization," the real mutual communication and understanding of one across the Strait another was obviously lacking, particularly in relation to the political realm. Rather, the concept of internationalization may be used to distract from the opposition of political ideologies that Kyle, and other Taiwanese transmigrants, needed to face, as well as how these two conflicting ideologies can be accommodated, if not integrated, in one place.

According to my observations, young transmigrants' parents who put more emphasis on the importance of "international perspective" likely tend to choose local schooling for their children, particularly the younger ones. Based on the rapidly growing economic power of China, they believe that associating with local Chinese students will provide their children with more

opportunities to build up their social connections. Meanwhile, competing with local Chinese students also enables their children to have "international" competitiveness. Political positioning is usually not a concern for those parents even though it is for their children, particularly for those at adolescent ages. Yet, Taiwanese youth who are placed in local schools usually complained to me that they do not have any opportunities to build up a so-called "international perspective" that their parents assume they can gain owing to their extremely heavy academic burden. One of my high school participants joked, "My international perspective is 'Chinese perspective' I may only learn in school." Their disappointment about local schooling and political confrontation often pushed them to Taishang, a "social and political comfort zone," as described by a Taiwanese teacher.

I have observed and interviewed many siblings attending schools with opposite political ideologies. In such families, various politically derogatory terms, such as "A-la-a," "Communist bandit," "tai-ba-zi," and "Taiwanese compatriot," are often used among siblings to describe each other, for fun or during arguments. Young people studying in Taishang usually showed much more political belonging to Taiwan than their siblings did. Social group belonging strengthens their political identity to Taiwan when their siblings attending local schools lack the positive reinforcement from their social groups. For those young transmigrants who have built up political ideologies different from their siblings, these differences seem to remain separated because political topics may not be brought up and discussed at their homes, since they do not want to turn their homes into another battlefield, particularly in those families with teenagers of similar ages. Siblings with conflicting political thinking are usually from families without strong political opinions. Interestingly, in those families with children with larger age differences, the older ones usually tend to alter the younger ones' thoughts, and the tug of war between school

and family sometimes makes young people more confused. Over all, in most transmigrant families, parents are highly cautious when dealing with political issues. Being the minority in the host society with a business background, most parents teach their children survival skills –being politically neutral by indifference, avoidance, or so-called "fake" performance.

Summary and Conclusion

In this chapter we have seen the diversity and complexity of the identification process of Taiwanese young transmigrants in terms of their political belonging through examining the intersection and dynamics of individual agency, the social interactions of individuals with others, and ideologies and social discourses, mainly embedded in schools.

Political Identification in Schools, Cross-Strait Society and Families

While political identity continues to be a highly sensitive subject in the cross-Strait context and regarded as an untouchable topic in the interpersonal interactions between people in Mainland China and Taiwan, it is also a fundamental issue that all people in these two places, particularly Taiwanese transmigrants, need to face. The highly politicized concepts of Taiwanese identity versus Chinese identity serve as two contradictory and incompatible options that young transmigrants have to "choose" – or at least perform such as choice – in their cross-Strait lives. Particularly for those youth attending the program in the local schools in Mainland China, going through the political self-attesting process and providing politically correct answers is even a required course, and for many of them, the first "political lesson" in Mainland China plays a role in enlightening and stimulating their political awareness.

At the critical age of identity formation and confirmation, while living with conflicting ideological challenges, these transmigrant adolescents need to build up or validate their political identity in these thorny political contexts. For these youth, living in two societies cluttered with highly politicalized messages seems to create a constant feeling of being pulled and pushed between the forces of Taiwanese identity and Chinese identity, which may ultimately create the culture of "third world kids." Such a political tug of war occurs at all places in the cross-Strait societies. School, largely a space of legitimate political ideology, is the main place where young transmigrants experience political encounters in their everyday lives. For most Taiwanese young transmigrants in their adolescence, Taishang School mainly plays a role as an incubator to sustain and cultivate their Taiwanese identity, while local schools serve as a battleground where they confirm their Taiwanese identity or transform their political ideas about adhering to China's political standpoint.

Taishang School and Mingdao School, separately representing Taiwan's dominant ideology and China's paramount ideology, serve as two rich arenas to observe and examine the identification process of transmigrants. It is useful to acknowledge the position of cultural reproduction theorists who propose that education is used to facilitate the transmission of dominant ideology and culture to the dominated (Apple, 1979; Bourdieu & Passeron, 1977; Giroux, 1983), as opposed to scholars of cultural production theory, who argue that individuals interact and negotiate with the imposed ideology and challenge structural forces as they produce and practice the meanings behind their own culture (Levinson & Holland, 1996; Willis, 1983). Taiwanese students in local Chinese schools exemplify how the minority group of students comply with, adapt to, and resist the mainstream political ideology endorsed by their Chinese teachers and supported by their Chinese peers in a wide range of ways. The interplay of the

power of social and educational power and individual agency in shaping young transmigrants' political identification takes place regardless of their schooling choice. Located in a society dominated by the overarching political ideology of Chinese nationalism, and in contrast to the local Chinese schools, Taishang School displays a form of reproduction of Taiwanese political ideology in an educational setting. Taishang School provides those transmigrant youth with a place where their Taiwanese identity has been reproduced and reinforced through the support of dominant Taiwanese ideology, their social interactions with Taiwanese peers and teachers, and their own practices in daily school lives.

Among all themes emerging in my political ideology discussions with transmigrant youth, the political democracy of Taiwan and the authoritarianism of the Chinese government is one of the most significant reasons for my research participants' concerns regarding their political identification. As Huang (2010) suggested in her study of remediated identity of Taiwanese migrants in China, pride in Taiwan's democracy encourages migrants to identify with Taiwan. More than what Huang recognizes in her research, young Taiwanese transmigrants display their concerns with "excessive democratization" of Taiwan that they see on TV when compared to the stability of society and rapid economic development in China that they witness in person. Behind their sarcastic remarks on China's authoritarian regime, the Chinese government's high efficiency and justification of its authoritarian regime in accordance with its national condition (符合中國國情) is another pulling force for young people's inclination to recognize China's political standpoint. Aside from the democratization of Taiwan, the corruption of the Chinese government used to be one of the main attacking points for young transmigrants. But after the scandal over Chen Shui-bian's corruption during his presidential term (2000-2008), those youths

have lost some ground from which to belittle the corruption of Chinese government officials – though some are willing to criticize both.

Identification Processes

When facing continuous political confrontation, transmigrant youths respond in different ways in their political identification processes. Resistance to China's political ideology is the most observable and self-described political positioning and behavior demonstrated by my research participants.

Rooted in and also extending from cultural (re)production theories, Fernandes (1988) proposed the theory of resistance to articulate the agency of individuals as they engaged with the power of social and educational structures. In his definition, resistance is "counter hegemonic social attitudes, behaviors, and actions which aim at weakening the classification among social categories (p.174)." He further argued that the interplay of structure and agency offers "spaces that make possible resistance… and the sources and mechanisms that cause, promote, and reinforce this resistance (p. 177)." The political resistance of those young transmigrants, including overt and covert resistance, is displayed and/or concealed at different places for various reasons. Most Taiwanese adolescents studying in the program of local schools show their situated political identities when they hide their Taiwanese identity behind remarks or behaviors that indicate some level of compromise with dominant political viewpoints. Those politically "compromised" transmigrants usually "perform" lip service to the Chinese identity in public, and their seeming concessions reinforce their political recognition of and support for Taiwan's identity. Those youth adopt such an accommodating strategy mainly to "support the collective good," to address their individual concerns about being socially recognized and accepted, or to

achieve their own academic and practical benefits. Compared to the situated identities that most Taiwanese youth "perform" in local schools, few Taiwanese young people choose straightforward confrontation to fight against the legitimized ideology in schools. Their overt resistance usually leads to their being transferred away from local schools.

It is widely recognized by scholars that identification is a process of the production of meaning, which is socially constructed through social interactions (Blumer, 1969; Fairclough & Wodak, 1997; Goffman, 1959; Strauss, 1969). This chapter illustrates how the identity of Taiwanese transmigrant youth is shaped and reshaped in the process of negotiation, confirmation, rejection, and opposition between those youth with others in the large social and educational ecology. Particularly, as many scholars in migration studies, such as Kennedy (2010) suggests, the identification of the migrant can be performed from situation to situation. Most of my research participants clearly present their situational *identities* in different scenarios for the purpose of survival, yet behind their situational identities lies strong resistance to being assimilated to the dominant ideology (Castells, 1997; McCall, 2003; Tsuda, 2000).

Compared to the majority of my research subjects who were showing their resistance as a solution to deal with imposition of political ideology in their host land, some students displayed their "process" of being assimilated into China's political ideology. Yet, very few demonstrate any form of full identity with China's political views. Most of these "politically struggling" youth, almost certainly studying in the local program of the local school, show their confusion and uncertainty about their political positions between China and Taiwan. The inconsistent political information from two societies, schools, and even families usually drives them away from discussing any political topics even though they have to live with these contradictory messages in their daily lives. Particularly, for those transmigrant adolescents who show their

uncertain positions and preference to the China side in the Taiwan-China political spectrum, they also tend to dodge their visits back to Taiwan to avoid further political confrontations. Youths with a stronger recognition of China's political standpoint rarely deny their Taiwanese identity. However, their Taiwanese identity does not indicate political acknowledgement, but rather a social or cultural identity, or their Taiwanese identity presents a local identity underneath China's overarching ideology. In such cases, Taiwanese and Chinese identities can co-exist and be accommodated, if not ultimately integrated.

The majority of transmigrant youth in my study employed inconsistent strategies in different contexts for a wide range of reasons that are articulated above, a phenomenon that may be connected to their immaturity. Most young transmigrants mix their resistant and compromising approaches. Even those young people who show overt resistance in schools may perform their situated identities on the street when encountering political challenges from strangers, and those students who display their compromised behaviors in school may choose resistance outside school before they feel they have more freedom to express themselves politically. However, according to my field observations and interviews, those assimilated young Taiwanese transmigrants have more consistent behaviors in showing their political identity. Compared to their counterparts, they feel more comfortable showing their identification with China inside and outside school in Mainland China and present their local Taiwanese identity as being subservient to the national Chinese identity. Since China is the main place where they currently reside and grow up, they have fewer opportunities to encounter political confrontation than their counterparts.

To sum up, this chapter reveals the similar impositions of different Taiwanese and Chinese political ideologies within and outside schools through the strong power of educational and

social structures, which answers my macro-level research question. Both Taishang School and local Chinese schools adopt similar approaches, including textbooks and political socialization, to convey their mainstream ideologies. The notions of Taiwanese awareness and one-China principle are two opposed political ideologies that cannot openly coexist in both schools, and also on two sides of Straits. Also, by providing a wide range of social interactions between the Taiwanese transmigrant youth and others in the large social and educational ecology across the Strait, this chapter responds to the meso-level research question to show how social interactions shape and reshape people's identification. That is, identity formation is a dynamic positioning process created and reconfirmed by individuals' subjective thinking, objective recognition, or opposition given by others, as well as intersubjective negotiations constructed through individuals' social interactions. At the micro-level, this chapter presents individuals' diverse strategies and practices of political identity in the process (e.g. resistance, accommodation, and assimilation) of its formation and through various means (e.g. language variations, physical and verbal behaviors, and even political symbols). Those youth consciously and/or subconsciously, and explicitly and/or implicitly use these means at different times and in different places to express or perform their identities. By the integration of the three-level exploration, this chapter clearly presents the dynamics of agency, social interactions, and educational and social structures in the political identification processes of youths, particularly through the examination of their school lives.

Chapter 5: Group Identity

"I have learned of an online social group created by and only accepting Taiwanese people, so I just want to get in. But you need to take a quiz to get the pass! The first question is to examine if you know how to use 'zhuyinfuhao (注音符號, phonetic symbols of Chinese characters).' The second one is a political question: What song do you sing during the flag-raising ceremony in Taiwan? The third… is asking you where 'sun cakes (太陽餅)' are from?!" Sun, a female college student, 15 years in Shanghai.

I have had numerous opportunities to encounter all sorts of people during my fieldwork in Shanghai. When I first meet a person, no matter what context, the first question I usually hear is, "Where are you from (你是哪兒/裡人)"? I have heard this question countless times, visiting student families, while having lunch at local restaurants, riding in taxis, shopping for supplies or books, meeting friends and colleagues, and many other situations. One Saturday I counted how many times this question was asked. The result was surprising: I was asked over ten times to identify where I was from. If I had been asked to identify myself more than ten times within one day, what about my research participants? During their residence in Mainland China, how frequently do they need to identify themselves or be identified?

One day I took a taxi with Mei to the international school that she attended during her middle school years. Before we hailed a taxi, Mei bet that the taxi driver would definitely ask where we both were from, and she said she wanted to play a game. After we got into the taxi, Mei told the driver the school name and location. After a while, the taxi driver asked us, "Xiaoguniang (小姑娘, girls), Where are you from?" When we heard his question, we could not

help but exchange a knowing look with each other. Mei also gave me a wink. I did not answer his question, but waited, as she asked me to do, to hear Mei's response, "We are Korean… We only can speak a little Chinese." (She talked to the driver in "broken" Mandarin with a weird tone in her sweet voice. I stared at her wide-eyed as she talked.) I did not know how to act like a Korean, so I gave her a look. Before I uttered any words, she started to talk to me in English! (I opened my eyes even wider). Then we used English to talk to each other until we arrived at our destination. The rest of our trip, the driver did not say a word to us. Right after we got out of the taxi, we burst into laughter. Mei told me how annoyed she felt when being asked such questions all the time, so she wanted to play a game with the driver for fun, and rid us of the "spell on our heads (在我們頭上的魔障)."

When I hung out with transmigrant students and observed their lives within and beyond school, I heard their answers to identity questions repeated over and over to different people, at various places, for various reasons. The range and inconsistency of their answers accompanied with different gestures and tones always made me wonder about the reasons for their discrepant responses, and the deeper meanings behind them. For example, when they said, "I am Taiwanese," did they refer to the political legitimacy of the country and/or did they apply cultural meaning to it, and/or some other meanings? Through my interviews and observations, I gradually realized interlinking but diverse meanings behind their statement, "I am Taiwanese (我是台灣人)."

While Chapter 4 focuses on the political dimensions of young Taiwanese transmigrants' identity, constructed and reflected largely through the context of formal schooling, this chapter reveals how youths' political identity is interwoven with societal and cultural identity in ways that indicate how social norms shape being "Taiwanese" in a given China-Taiwan context.

Extended from the arena of school, I investigate how group identity is built up and reshaped by the interchangeability and integration of political, societal, and cultural identities in the large social and educational ecology of schools, families, and cross-Strait societies. Through the youth's accommodation and conduction of two sets of social norms differently validated in Mainland China and Taiwan, this chapter also answers my research questions at the meso-level, that how social interactions between the transmigrant youth and others in their transmigrant lives construct and reconstruct their identification; and at the micro-level, how the youth perform and practice their identities to differentiate themselves with others or behave themselves in accordance with others in the two societies for personal benefits or collective pride.

Social Identity and Social Norms

Norms are defined by Bicchieri (2006) as "the language a society speaks, the embodiment of its values and collective desires, the common practices that hold human groups together" (p. 9). Such norms are adopted by social identity theorists to identify people's behavioral standards that can distinguish in-groups and out-groups (Christensen, Rothgerber, Wood, & Matz, 2004). Social identity theorists, such as Tajfel and Turner (1986), argued that individuals' social identity, associated with their in-groups, results from their knowledge about the groups' membership, which in turn indicates their own social norms, where such membership brings emotional significance and even pragmatic benefits. Knowing the "rules" serves as a foundation or a principle for defining members' "appropriate" and "inappropriate" values, attitudes, and behaviors. Through the implementation and confirmation of different social norms, in-group identity can be strengthened whereas intergroup differences are distinguished (Rubin & Hewstone, 1998). Those who want to become new members have to know, acknowledge, and

follow norms for group recognition and acceptance. Meanwhile, values and assumptions that new members bring to an in-group may reshape the social norms of the group. Those who do not or cannot share social norms with group members, or those members who violate norms, risk marginalization, being excluded, or even expelled from a group. Perkins (2002) clearly pointed out how group norms reflect dominant cultures (e.g. attitudes, beliefs, values, and behaviors) that all members of a group are expected to learn and follow.

Here I posit that both spoken and unspoken social norms and cultures play a significant role in shaping young transmigrants' group identity as "Taiwanese," as identified by themselves, and which *may* also be recognized by others. While "Taiwanese identity" and "Chinese identity" are layered with political labels through public discourse and cross-Strait state positioning, "Taiwanese identity" for youths is more multi-faceted and complex. In particular, young Taiwanese distinguish two sets of social norms and cultures dominant in Chinese and Taiwanese societies, and (in)consistently engage in "the norms" in various situations to better maintain their membership in the Taiwan group, or to create a form of "double membership" in both Chinese and Taiwanese groups.

Social Grouping at Lunchtime in Mingdao and Taishang

Two occurrences in Mingdao and Taishang high schools at lunchtime stimulated me to think about how social norms shared by individuals determine social groupings. Due to school timetables, students in both Mingdao and Taishang are constrained in their classrooms by packed class schedules. Lunchtime presents one of the few limited opportunities for interacting with others outside of class. Similarly, teachers use this time to chat with other teachers or administrative staff who may not share the same offices. I was always interested in observing

and analyzing the spontaneous social groupings of students and teachers during school lunch. Students and teachers in Mingdao and Taishang are both given approximately one hour for lunch, and some teachers in both schools, particularly middle-school teachers, require their students to take a nap in class after a 30-minute lunchtime. But teachers do not set the rules for high school students. So after lunch students usually spend 20 to 30 minutes in the school arena or indoor stadium, playing basketball or engaging in music or dance for school activities or competitions, chatting with their friends on campus, or doing their homework in the classrooms. After lunch teachers in both schools usually have a short naptime, prepare for their lesson plans or examine students' homework or exam papers, use the Internet, or chat with one another in their offices.

During lunchtime students and teachers in both schools choose their own seats in the school cafeteria based on individual preferences. Based on my observations, male and female students do not mix in Mingdao, and the gender boundary is very clear in their class activities, as well. On the contrary, the gender boundary is not as apparent at Taishang, with girls and boys mingled together or in same-sex groups. While I rarely saw them change their lunch mates, student lunch groups were reorganized when their members quarreled with one another. Those who may have been "expelled" might choose to sit with their secondary groups, or just skip lunch to avoid obvious group exclusion. Teachers in both schools have their own lunch groups as well, mainly built up according to their personal or professional relations. It is not unusual to see some teachers sharing the same office walking to the school cafeteria, but sitting with different groups for lunch. Teachers' lunch groups, however, are more easily dispersed or penetrated than that of students, and they regroup for different reasons, such as discussing upcoming school events or tasks.

As an ethnographic researcher hoping to gain a deeper understanding of transmigrants' school lives and group dynamics, I used alternative seating patterns with various groups of students and teachers in both schools at the beginning of my fieldwork. As time went on I did not change my teacher lunch mates as much, but I still had lunch with different student groups. For example, I tended to sit with Chinese teachers in Taishang after I started my fieldwork in order to build up closer relations and trust with them, but I gradually realized that even though I strived to be more engaged in the topics they talked about, sometimes I could not understand their dialogue since they used local dialects to communicate. Sometimes I needed to make substantial effort to find topics they may be interested in for our conversations. In Mingdao, as the only teacher with a Taiwanese background, I merged into teachers' groups, where they kindly let me sit with them, and some of them even actively invited me to join their lunch chats. Interestingly, my lunch grouping positions in Mingdao similarly became fixed as time went on.

In addition, the social boundary in Taishang between Taiwanese and Chinese teachers was clear cut and reinforced by social norms. I had heard teachers from both "sides" tell me their thoughts about the "separation" between teachers in Taishang, and those reasons included the important issues of discrepancies in school salary and benefits, lifestyle, food quality, and also ways of thinking, all of which clearly reflected features of social norms shaping in-group. Likewise, I had seen both Chinese and Taiwanese teachers walk to the school cafeteria together, yet when most Taiwanese teachers stopped by the washing table in front of the cafeteria to wash their hands, most Chinese teachers directly went into the cafeteria. They tended to have friendly chats with each other when they lined up, but split into two tables right after they had food on their plates.

Likewise, students in Mingdao and Taishang had their own norms of social grouping. In youth groups, transmigrants in both schools chose or were chosen for group inclusion and/or exclusion based on different features they share, such as academic performance, hobby and extra-curricular interests, personality, and "feelings toward each other."[34] Compared to students in Taishang, aside from the concern for maintaining gender divisions that Mingdao students displayed, they also used academic performance as a criterion for their group member screening, and remarkably, this criterion was both explicitly emphasized and implicitly encouraged by their teachers.

Additionally, I clearly observed in both schools how students' social norms were created and circulated within their own groups, and then used and recreated by other groups. As time went by, the social norms of the students would be further circulated throughout school, and even acquired by their teachers – and vice versa. For example, during my fieldwork (2008), Chen Shui-bian, then President of the Republic of China, was accused and arrested in a political scandal involving large-scale money laundering, while the award-winning movie, "Cape No. 7 (海角七號)," [35] a Taiwanese romance-comedy that dealt with cultural confrontations between Taiwanese, Japanese, and Chinese during the 1940s, inspired the term "Cape 7 hundred millions (海角七億)." Originally proposed by Taiwan media to satirize Chen's crimes, the term started to be used by a group of high school seniors to mock their wealthy group members, and was then revised by other students to "Cape 17 hundred millions (海角十七億)" as a more extreme figure. I learned of it from a group of high school students, and one day I heard it from a middle-aged

[34] "Feelings toward each other" (憑感覺) here is similarly described by some high school students in Taishang. This term is often used by my research participants regardless of their schools to express their closeness to or distance from their counterparts.
[35] Cape No. 7 (海角七號) presents a group of young people pursuing their music dreams. This film has been the most popular movie in Taiwan's film history.

high school teacher who used it to tease a young female middle-school teacher in the office when she received a large package she'd ordered online. Also designed in 2008 was the "massively multiplayer" online social game "Happy Farm (開心農場)"[36] played by one of the Mingdao teachers who was popular in our office and admired by many students in school. A few days later some other teachers joined her, and within a couple of weeks even my research participants told me how much fun it was to play the game during weekends.

As I observed norms being created and used by Taiwanese transmigrant youth and their counterparts in Mingdao and Taishang, I paid particular attention to the roles of Mingdao students in their school and their in-groups. During lunchtime, I clearly saw that students from Taiwan, as the minority in Mingdao, divided themselves among the groups or differently position themselves in a group. Some were becoming well merged into Chinese student groups, yet voluntarily singled themselves out from or were involuntarily excluded by their Chinese peers. Some built up their small groups with other students from Taiwan either with or without their Chinese counterparts' participation and recognition. These various social grouping situations were evident in the school cafeteria of both schools. Yet, even though all students in Taishang have a Taiwanese background, they do not all get along with each other and have their own social groups. Lunch mate arrangements and rearrangements reflected youths' overall social grouping and regrouping, and the principles of their grouping and regrouping applied to their lives outside school, as well.

[36] Played mostly in China and Taiwan, the game had up to 23 million players daily at the height of its popularity. Retrieved from http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Happy_Farm

Political Identity and Social Grouping

Illustrated by the case of "Cape No. 7 hundred millions," and the flag-raising ceremony event in Taishang described in Chapter 4, political codes and symbols are often used in Taishang School. Political signs were used by transmigrant youths to show their political opinions and belonging, and some were employed and shared by Taiwanese groups as social norms. The activities of Chen Shui-bian and associated symbols became the most accessible and common political resources for Taiwanese students to display their group identity. As described in Chapter 4, after the number 2630 – assigned to Chen Shui-bian when he was taken into custody – was released on TV, Taishang high school students started to give 4-digit numbers to each other, and even some teachers who were closer to students were assigned numbers by students or in their conversations with students used numbers to tease each other. This numbering activity was limited to the Taiwanese group, however, and the mutual understanding the numbers represented was never expressed across the group boundary of Taiwanese and Chinese.

In addition to employing Taiwan political symbols, Taishang students also verbally or nonverbally mocked political figures, systems, and convictions of China, while using China's political icons to tease each other. This practice was a social norm among students in Taishang. For example, one day when I had lunch with several male 10th grade students in the school cafeteria, they talked about high commodity prices in Shanghai and the huge gap that they observed between the rich and poor. After I asked them, "But didn't you always feel that China really is a communist country as it claims?" these boys started a discussion regarding communism.

Liu: Communism? Of course, this is a great communist country! One of our teachers even told us a story about something that happened to him when he went to a movie in Shanghai. He said that a total stranger came up to him and plucked out popcorn from the box he was holding in a movie theater when he was waiting to enter the screening room. (all the students at our tables laughed with him) He said he was shocked and could not say a word. (all the boys kept laughing) It was so awkward!

Hu: See how wonderful communism is? Yours is mine! (all the boys laughed again)

Dai: Yes, just like China, our school is *invaded* by communism, as well.

Me: How come?

Dai: It is because all the people in my dorm room use my hairdryer. Mine is theirs! (Dai pointed at Liu. All the boys laughed)

Liu: Ha ha ha… We love this place! Everyone is equal! Hail Communist Party! (共產黨萬歲) (all the boys laughed even harder)

Of course, communism technically refers to a socioeconomic system upholding the fundamental concept of absence of class and maintaining equity within society. Yet, the meaning of its common ownership is now used in Taishang to deride disrespectful and undesirable behaviors of people in Mainland China. Furthermore, political terms related to communism are semi-privately used by students in Taishang to apply to their cohorts or teachers who may be exceedingly demanding or controlling over some matters; this shapes a kind of unspoken social norm in their daily conversation, to reflect how China attempts to dominate or manipulate Taiwan.

Since openly stating political opinions is prohibited in local schools, instead of using language or symbols signifying too-obvious political meanings, some of my participants tended to utilize signs without definite political meanings, to display their collective group identities. For example, when the anti-corruption/Anti-Chen campaign reached its climax, crowds attending campaign activities wore red t-shirts and were called the "Red Shirt Army (紅衫軍)" by Taiwanese media. "Red t-shirt" soon became a sign for some of my research participants, as well as other Taiwanese transmigrants in the Mainland to implicitly but clearly proclaim their Taiwanese group identity.[37]

Feifei, the female high school student in the "Country bingo game" event, shared her story of another "Taiwanese people's victory" in her school with me:

> I feel that Taiwanese people are very high[38] and united. For instance, during the period of the Anti-Chen campaign, all Taiwanese students in our school wore red t-shirts together. It was like we are a group, against the corruption of Chen Shui-bian, like other Taiwanese. We all had the same feeling… Other people [in school] did not know why we all wore red t-shirts together! (she laughed excitedly) The last thing we could say in school is that Taiwan is a country. This is forbidden.[39] So we felt so ardent (熱血) when we all put on red t-

[37] At this time Chen was being investigated by the Taiwan judicial system, the situation was discussed animatedly by the media in Mainland China and Taiwan. In the last few years of his presidency, the concepts and values of political democracy and integrity, which Taiwanese people had been proud of, were severely compromised. This was often discussed in both TBS and local schools to demonstrate the failure of the democratic system carried out in Taiwan society, where the Anti-Chen campaign (倒扁運動), a large political activity appealing to anti-corruption conducted in Taiwan since 2006, exemplified the collective voice of Taiwan people who were against political corruption and pan-green parties.

[38] The term "high" used here takes on a cultural meaning to indicate the positivity of collective affectional status.

[39] She repeated these two sentences a couple of times during our two-hour interview.

shirts…. When they did not allow you to do something… You just want to do it more… And you know what? We realized that a lot of people were wearing red t-shirts on the street (she pointed at the floor to mean "here, Mainland China"), on subway trains, and also at other places during that period of time. We would pay particular attention to those people in red t-shirts and smiled at them…. And if they looked at you and smiled back at you, you would just know they were Taiwanese, too.

When describing the red t-shirt phenomenon, Feifei talked very animatedly about it. Like Yun, the female high school student in the "Flag in school sports meet" event, Feifei demonstrated how young Taiwanese transmigrants, within and outside of school, used political signs and symbols as a source for social behavior that tightened the collective group identity of Taiwanese, and erected a group boundary separating them from other groups in their host society.

Societal Identity and Social Grouping

When talking about their cross-Strait lives, my research participants tended to juxtapose and compare Chinese and Taiwanese societies. Even though these two countries generally share similar features, such as an official language, ethnicity (broadly defined) of the (Han) majority, ancient Chinese history and culture, and even cross-Strait pop culture, Taiwanese transmigrant youths pointed out the differences between the two cultures/nations. The cross-Strait societal differences that they observed first-hand and lived in turn became a very significant source of self-awareness that they counted on to support their group identity as "Taiwanese" in their host society. Those main differences cover a wide range of societal topics, from societal openness and

closure, civilization of society, wealth and class gaps, social trust issues, and their familiarity to and distance from these two societies.

Societal Openness and Closure

Political democracy and societal openness of Taiwan were usually brought up by my research participants as paired topics in their articulation of the differences between Taiwan and China's political authoritarianism and societal closure. Under the topic of societal openness of Taiwan and closure of Chinese society, freedom of speech as well as the media and religion are often used by transmigrants to express their pride in being Taiwanese. Interestingly, on the other hand, societal instability and inefficient societal progress are also two main concerns they associate with the "excessive freedom" of Taiwan's society when they praise China' social stability and rapid economic development under the authoritarian power of China's government.

Freedom of speech, media, and religion are three "fundamental" freedoms supported by many of my research participants. I could understand that they may more likely be aware of issues involving freedom of speech and media in their daily lives, such as different and even contradictory messages in China's and Taiwan's TV news. However, their concern over the lack of freedom of religion in Mainland China, particularly in regards to "Falun Gong (法輪功),"[40] surprised me. Many Taiwanese high school students told me how they and their families joined "alternative"[41] religious activities, such as family bible studies and "Tzu Chi (慈濟)" youth

[40] "Falun Gong (法輪功)," literally meaning "Dharma Wheel Practice" or "Law Wheel Practice" is described by its members as "a high-level cultivation practice guided by the characteristics of the universe—Truthfulness, Benevolence, and Forbearance." Yet, this influential practice is regarded by the Chinese government as a religious cult organization that needs to be suppressed. Retrieved from www.falundafa.org/.
[41] Religious activity is strictly conscribed in China.

meetings;[42] some young people shared their concerns about the severe and bloody suppression of "Falun Gong" by the Chinese government, which they heard about from relatives who were Falun Gong members in Taiwan. For example, Kai and his parents told me their personal story of experiencing religious censorship in Mainland China, and Kai said that the enormous power of China's government over monitoring its people's religious activities through the Internet shocked him. In a discussion with Kai's mother, she describes government efforts to monitor their activities:

> Kai's mother: Do you remember that last time, some policemen came to our house to look for you [referring to her husband, who was also there]? My first reaction was, did your company not pay taxes? (laughing) Right after I let them in, they searched our house from cellar to rafter, and asked a lot of questions about your job and our family, then checked all the computers at home. They did not explain what they were looking for in the beginning, and then they said they were certain that someone in our family had visited the website of Falun Gong. That was why I had felt that our phones were monitored, because there was always some noise in our phones at that time. Do you remember? You said I was paranoid (staring at her husband). Actually, I did look at its website because I was just curious about what they did. It was not a big deal… to me. One of my friends told me that her friend's house and company had also been searched

[42] "Tzu Chi (慈濟)," an abbreviation of "Buddhist Compassion Relief Tzu Chi Foundation" or "Tzu Chi Foundation," literally means "Compassionate Relief." Founded in Taiwan in 1966, it was the first non-governmental international humanitarian organization in Mainland China (2001) and legally permitted by the Chinese government. Tzu Chi's legalization in China has since been recognized for "its humanitarian contribution" by the Chinese government, "and also the overall environment of China has been changing," said by Chi, Xaiofei, the Vice Chairman of State Administration for Religious Affairs of P.R.C.

by local Chinese policemen for the same reason, and their children were too terrified to even cry. (shrugging her shoulders and sticking out her tongue a bit at me) I was not a member of the Falun Gong, nor did I go to any of its activities. What should I be afraid of?

Kai: (poking his mother's shoulder) You were too bold. When you told me about this incident the other weekend when I came back from school, I seriously thought it was me who'd gone to their website. (he laughed aloud, then turned to me and continued his speech) So you see, this is China. How amazing (了不起) this country is! This is a country without freedom of speech, without freedom of religion, and even without the freedom of going to a single website! Just a website, maybe for a while. How serious could this be? (shrugging his shoulders and then shaking his head) You cannot even feel that you are watched, but you may be watched by them [the Chinese government] at every moment. (laughing dryly) So you say, should we run away from here as soon as we can, as far as we can? (he said the question in his sarcastic tone, indicating his being restrained in China without any possibility of going anywhere else)

Kai's mother: Your dad's business is here, so we are here. We are not going anywhere else. (she reached her hands out to try to hug their son)

Kai: (trying to avoid his mother and laughing) I know. I know. We have no choice. So you better be good (乖一點), and I better… (he did not finish the sentence, but made a gesture of zipping his mouth shut)

Kai told me many times that he felt suffocated living in Mainland China, as noted here.

This society is seemingly wrapped by a weird plastic paper. You can see this place, and you live in it… Everything on TV news looks good, and sounds that this is such a great country! You only see good things on TV, but you know this is not true. It's fake… because you see bad things on the street every day. (He said this sentence in his exaggerated tone) Everything in this country is a "yangbanxi (revolutionary opera, 樣板戲)."[43] All bad things are well covered. And sometimes, you may feel terrified since you do not know what is behind… The feeling is like…. you feel you cannot breathe sometimes. You may be just gone from this earth for unknown or unspoken reasons if you violate its… some principles. No one would know where you were taken. I think it is so… weird and unacceptable, but… for them [local people]… this may be quite normal… I do not know.

In this interview, Kai noted not only being restrained in Mainland China without mobility, but also being under the power of China's government through invisible monitoring, which he referred to in his "what is behind" statement. When most of my participants made sarcastic remarks about the censorship system's strict policy so thoroughly implemented in China, Kai was unusual in voicing his fear of the power and unpredictability of the Chinese government. Still, many of my participants were like Kai in sharing their concerns about suppressed freedom in the Mainland. They see this lack of freedom as "normal" In the local setting.

While students expressed concerns about the lack of freedom in the Mainland, and contrasted it with democracy and openness in Taiwan, they also understood China's authoritarianism and societal closure to be a normal situation in the Mainland. In fact, they told

[43] Revolutionary opera (樣板戲) refers to the model plays initiated, planned, and promoted by Jiang Qing, the wife of Mao Zedong. Their stories are full of political propaganda designed to educate Chinese people on how to be good soldiers and to make contributions to the P.R.C.

me how the authoritarian government and closure of China's society could benefit Chinese society. That is, societal openness is the overarching social norm in Taiwan; societal closure can be regarded as the social norm of Chinese society. With different norms, people in the two societies understand the rules, and in such a context, transmigrants know how to follow different norms in two places.

Overall, most young transmigrants, regardless of their family background, length of residence in Mainland China, and school they attended, expressed their agreement on the necessity of authoritarianism in China. Likewise, they were very proud as "Taiwanese," since Taiwan's society has all those freedoms that are prohibited in Mainland China. Paradoxically, they also noted that not much societal and economic progress could be seen in Taiwan due to "too much freedom." The gap between their pride and disappointment in Taiwanese society in terms of societal openness demonstrates their high expectations while also showing their admiration of China's rapid development that they witnessed through their cross-Strait life experiences.

Civilization in Society

Taiwan "civilization," that is, the concept of being civilized, is another salient societal characteristic or descriptor through which Taiwanese youth in Mainland China thought about their identities. Regardless of the length of their residency in Mainland China, most of my research participants pointed out discrepancies in daily behaviors of people in Taiwan and China, the first differences they discovered during their cross-Strait travels. Some young people who had lived in Mainland China for longer periods told me that the manner of treating others who

had different opinions from one's own was an important "index" for evaluating the civilization of a society rather than their daily behaviors.

Among a variety of societal civilization issues brought up by the students, the most common involved experiences taking public transportation in the two countries. My observations of how they behaved on both sides of the Strait gave me abundant opportunities to have such discussions with them.

For example, Mei went back to Taiwan regularly every summer and winter since she moved to Shanghai six years earlier, and I spent time with her and her friends a couple of times in both Shanghai City and Taipei City. We usually used the subway system and sometimes took a taxi in Shanghai, and took the MRT[44] in Taipei. In a subway station in Shanghai on a Sunday at noon, when we finally arrived at the platform crowded with people, she could not help but start to complain about how troublesome it was to take public transportation in Shanghai, and how she had no choice at times but to "behave the same as the locals." (We were standing on the platform, waiting for a subway train, and she looked a little irritated.)

> Mei: Hsiang-ning, You know what?... You never asked me why I, at this age, did not go out often during weekends here [in Shanghai]… See, this is why… (she gave me a look of resignation) I just cannot put up with the behaviors of Chinese people here even though I have been here for almost six years. They always push one another, and almost *never* line up! (she said this emphatically) This is why I do not like going out during weekends here. People are… everywhere. It is fine to see so many people in every place, but when you need to take the subways or taxis, they often make you really upset and even mad, because they

[44] MRT is the metro system in Taipei operated since 1996.

do not follow traffic rules. They do not line up regardless of any place they are, including the subway station, train station, supermarket, and hospital … every place. But in Taiwan, people line up and follow the rules. For example, people in Taipei always line up when they wait for MRT trains in the station in front of the two sides of the door of each train to let passengers get off before they get on. But here… People always push one another. So… some people cannot get off the train, and some people cannot get on the train in the end! (she raised her voice) It is just so disturbing! Even though you can see slogans and posters telling people to line up everywhere, they are not working at all, but just serve as useless decorations. She pointed at a poster hung up on the wall on with a slogan for train protocol, "Follow the civil discipline, please get off first and get in later (遵守文明紀律，請先下後上)." (She gave me a sarcastic look.)… It is like people here are spitting everywhere no matter how many banners say, "Please do not spit" and something like… "Be a modern citizen… and create a civil society" in all places. Yet, who cares? (she laughed sarcastically) You can even see that local parents tell their children to pee on street or squeeze into subway trains to occupy seats for them. (she rolled her eyes) This stuff only makes me want to scream!

At this moment, we heard the sound of a subway train approaching, and Mei rolled her eyes and said, "You will see how they push one another to get into the train! I'll bet you they will or else I'm making your instant coffee for one week!" (she laughed a lot) Mei and I stood in the same place and did not move due to some tacit agreement, even though we were supposed to take this subway train. When the train door opened, people hastily poured in and out, and we were not able to enter. Mei sighed deeply and gave me a look. She told me, "Why do we [those

Taiwanese students] want to stay home more often than come out? This is the answer. I prefer to stay at home to do whatever I want or do not want, rather than be pushed around everywhere." While we waited for the next train, she shared her previous experience of how horrible it was to have her bag clamped by a train door even though she had already finally got off the train. Mei then told me that we were going to squeeze into the next train no matter what, "Hsiang-ning, we will not be able to take the train, and we will never arrive at Xuhui (徐匯, our destination) if we show the proper behavior to line up. So when the next train comes, you need to follow me!" She nearly shouted, "Let's go (衝啊)!" and laughed a lot when the train came. After we squeezed into the train, she started talking to me in English, saying, "This is the rule. You just need to know the rule, and go with it. It is like other rules here. You cannot think that you are Taiwanese, nor do you want to be who you are, or how you act as before… There are too many people here… So it is like *the whole society* here, if you don't push others, they will push you instead. If you don't push others to get to your destination, they will definitely push you to get to their destinations…" At that moment, we were stuck in the crowd of passengers in the train and could not move even a bit.

Interestingly, when I took the MRT with her a few months later in Taipei during summer break, she looked happy when we met in one of the MRT stations. After she swiped her MRT card, I noticed that she naturally lined up and kept to the right when she took the escalator down to the train platform ahead of me. When the train opened the door, she did not even move a bit until all passengers got off the train, and started to move forward when people ahead of her were walking onto the train. Meanwhile, we were talking about the lunch we would have later, and she suddenly brought the public transportation topic into our conversation:

Mei: I feel so good and comfortable back in Taiwan. (she showed me a sweet smile and I asked, "Why?") You just want to go out every day… lots of fun things to do, and most importantly, you wouldn't get upset when you take the MRT or buses. (I asked, "Is this such a serious problem to you?") Of course! (she replied immediately) It makes you feel that this is a friendly and comfortable environment. People *here* are not rude like people *there*, so you don't want to be rude either. Bad behavior is *contagious*, but so is good behavior.

Like Mei, many of my research participants shared stories about the differences in people's social behavior in Mainland China and Taiwan. Their stories show how highly aware they are of different societal rules in the two societies, and how they consciously behaved differently in two places by "following their rules" to either avoid their interests being damaged or even to win, particularly in Mainland China. Meanwhile, most also told me that there were some behaviors that they maintained in their host society, such as no spitting in public. One of my participants told me, "There is always something that you would not do since you know the better way already. It is like a one-way road... Once you know which direction is right, you would never go back the wrong way." Yet some behaviors are located in a grey area, where, for example, running red lights and throwing trash on the street is common. A student told me, "It is like the 'broken window theory.' When you see people do bad things, and no consequence follows, you would do the same bad things. It becomes a culture, a social culture." When I was surprised to hear "the broken window theory" from a middle school student, I could not help but think how transmigrant youths graded societal behaviors in their own recognized "to-do-versus-not-to-do" spectrum. When I asked my participants about their criteria for societal behaviors, many of them told me, in the words of one high school student, those "grey behaviors" are "what you may not

feel comfortable doing in Taiwan, but won't hurt anyone but will also be acceptable if you do them in the Mainland."

Some youths at and above high-school age went deeper and talked about the concept of civil society, as well as others' attention to how people behaved differently in China and Taiwan. A male student, Hao, who had studied in local schools for five years, shared his societal observations with me:

Hao: To be honest, I really don't want to live here in the future, even though I am kind of used to it. This is not because I don't like their behavior here, but because they do not respect others. I remember that my family went to Beijing during one "10-1 holiday (十一假期),"[45] when we were stuck on a Shanghai train platform as crowded as it always is; the train station staff yelled at all passengers like they were *chickens or ducks, not human beings*. It made me feel so horrible. Since then, I kept thinking and asking myself, 'What place is this?' Those local people may not have choices and have to push one another since there are just too many people in China. But they are human beings who need to be treated with respect, and of course, need to learn how to respect others… But the scene that day… was like… they were animals. (his forehead knotted into a frown, with a pained facial expression)… Also, in this place, people seemingly need to have the same mindset, which means that you can't have your own opinions, and no one cares about what you, as a tiny individual, think. Like… in their daily conversations with you, they would not ask about your opinion, or consider your perspective … but you are supposed to have the same thinking as them… You

[45] National Day (國慶日) celebrates the establishment of People's Republic China on October 1, 1949, and, nowadays, people in China usually travel during this five- to seven-day holiday.

> do not even need to argue with them… since they just do not want to know and do not even care about what you think… This may be that Chinese people have not received respect… in China's long history, so they do not know how to respect others, either… But if they do not start respecting each other, this society will still stay the same…. Anyway, there is just no space for mutual respect here. But in Taiwan, even though we don't like to see people arguing on TV in Taiwan… you still cherish the space… in which we can argue… because we… just learn to listen to others, and learn to compromise… to get things moving forward... to make our society better. That is what a *civil society* is… People have rights to express their own opinions to one another, and also still be respected by others. We are not chicken or ducks, we are human beings, with brains and hearts… I am glad that I am Taiwanese. I did not grow up there; otherwise, I may think that being treated this way is *natural*, and could not be aware of how horrible this is. I am glad that I am Taiwanese, because I do not need to live here forever…

Hao disliked what he considered to be the inferior positions of people in Mainland China living under a powerful societal structure, and criticized the lack of individual voices speaking for the collective good. He pointed out how individuals are supposed to follow social norms agreed on and carried out by the majority, and indicated what a "civil society" is, where people participate in societal matters and create societal space for people to debate their concerns. He clearly distinguished the different values of respect in the two societies as two different social norms, and showed his group identity with one over the other. Aside from the different societal values of respect, in Hao's view he already went behind the "complaining and behaving differently stage" and was able to analyze and criticize how individuals could be constrained by

social structures and dominated by its norms, where citizens also serve as "societal agents" to implement and reproduce those social norms for the maintenance of the status quo.

Wealth Gap between Rich and Poor

I also heard many complaints and worries among young transmigrants about their distance from the cultural reality they lived in, and their indifference towards political, cultural, and societal issues that occupied their teachers and parents. In particular, most teachers express concerns over youths' apathy towards the local society due to their wealthy family background. I have to admit that young transmigrants who had attended or are attending local school programs are more likely to be aware of local societal issues and show that they sympathize with those with fewer economic advantages, in contrast to their wealthy counterparts. Yet meanwhile, my research participants discussed the huge wealth gap between the rich and poor in China that they easily noticed in their daily lives.

For example, Feifei, living in a wealthy community in downtown Shanghai City, usually spent her weekdays socializing with her friends from the local international school. She shared her shock at the huge wealth gap she saw during the beginning of her move to Shanghai two years earlier, and in her own observations of its high cost of living:

> I had no place to go but only department stores around my apartment after I moved here. I remember how expensive all the stuff was in those department stores, even much more expensive than those in the best department stores in Taipei City, and you could see many Shanghai people spent tremendous amounts of money there all once, without even blinking their eyes. But when I walked out of those department stores, I saw a lot of beggars on the

street, who came to me asking for pennies. The huge contrast between the inside and outside just made Shanghai two opposite worlds. It did shock me, really… They are both the real Shanghai…. They may come to the real Shanghai together… And you know, the rich will become richer, and the poor will stay there and even become poorer here. This is how the world here works…. Even though its government always says they are a *socialist* country, no one shares what he/she has with you. The society here, particularly the Shanghai society, is a totally *capitalist* place. You can buy whatever you want or do whatever you want if you are rich, but you are nobody no one would care about if you do not have money. They only care about themselves… and money. I got used to seeing those two groups of people in Shanghai, one in the sky, and the other one on the ground… and of course, a lot of others in between. I kind of got used to it… but I still feel very sad when I see the huge wealth gap. (I asked, "But before, did you never see any wealth gap in Taiwan?")… I did. But not this huge. In Taiwan, I did not see so many people driving the most luxurious cars and even throwing money on the street, like here, and I never saw so many poor people begging for money on the street either… (thinking for a second) though a few beggars are at night markets.

Sun, a college student who moved to Shanghai when she was a toddler but who went back to Taiwan occasionally during the last 15 years, shared her observations on "class" in Taiwan and Mainland China:

Sun: People are easily divided into different classes here… How much you make a month… If you came from rural area… It would be so obvious since you carry a big bag with you up to

> a bus and wear a dirty shirt… Even the bus driver would use a harsh tone to talk to them, very impatiently… like they are from another world… But you see the role of workers in Taiwan… even though they do not make much money, they are still respected by others…. particularly on TV commercials and in political campaigns. Laborers are very important consumers for some products… and also represent the considerable population of voters… But not here at all… Since there are too many people here, people are classified into different groups by every single significant examination, in accordance with the national condition here. So likewise, people have no choice but to be divided into the good and bad in this society.

Many of my research participants noted the sharp contrast between the rich and the poor in China on the one hand, and the more serious wealth gap on the Mainland than in Taiwan on the other hand. When they point out societal inequality, many also express inconsistencies in their perspectives on the economic position of their families. They generally realize how "poor" they are after going to Shanghai, even though most of their families would be considered "above middle class" in Taiwan and also in Mainland China. Meanwhile, they acknowledged how much better their families' lives are since they could afford to hire a housemaid in the Mainland. In particular, they concluded that doing all chores by themselves is normal in Taiwan, but having an "A-yi (阿姨, housemaid)" is very common for all Taiwanese transmigrant families in the Mainland. Based on the different social norms that Taiwanese people follow in the two places, youths complain that they need to fold their laundry and throw out family trash on their own when living in Taiwan, but they could "even have their underwear well-ironed" in the Mainland.

A high school student told me, “It is good to be a Taiwanese here [in Mainland China], but it is even much better to be a rich Chinese here.”

The concept of class was repeatedly emphasized by most of my research participants, and some of them criticized class inequality, particularly in China’s so-called “socialist” society; however, no one tells me that class inequality needs to be changed. Rather, they mostly rationalize the necessity of “class” existing in society, and having people “live and work in peace [at their own positions] (安居樂業)” as a way to maintain the societal stability and even development due to the large population of people in Mainland China. “Having a clear class boundary” is seemly regarded as a social norm recognized by my young participants, and also by the majority of Chinese people, based on their observations. Compared to the “proprietariat” and “proletariat” in Marx’s socialist schema, in modern China, maintaining clear class boundaries and creating more space for middle class people has become a common way of supporting socioeconomic development and national growth. Within each “class,” people create and follow their own social norms which are difficult, but surely possible, for people in other classes to acquire. The Taiwanese group in Mainland China, as a specific group, is similarly regarded as a certain class in which they produce and share their own social norms, pay their financial costs and enjoy their class benefits in their host land. In this domain, being Taiwanese refers from their perspectives toward upper-middle class people in China’s society even while operating within a social context shaped by a huge wealth gap. Further, the Taiwanese identity which the youth claim stands for a class identity that merely comes into existence in their host society, but not in their original place.

Social Trust

As a group of Taiwanese people in Mainland China, my participants and their parents similarly shared with me how "visible and advantaged" they are in the local society on the one hand, while being "invisible and also disadvantaged" on the other hand. Recognized as "Taiwan compatriots," they were not treated like foreigners or natives who might separately have their own advantages in the Mainland. Because of their visible features, such as easily noticeable language accent and term usage, larger number of children, and certain wealthy family backgrounds, Taiwanese families had common experiences of being "cheated" in local society. Many Taiwanese transmigrants and their parents told me numerous stories of these painful experiences, from the fake wallets they bought on the street, to being framed in a local school as well as a victim of fabricated housing contracts, to business crises and even failure caused by mistakenly trusting their local counterparts. A high school student sarcastically pointed out, "Even people's hearts can be faked here."

Contrasting with the "faked heart" opinion, however, Lei's father shared his story about the "true heart" of a vendor with me:

Lei: Once I bought a souvenir with my kids in a tourist spot, and I found out I bought it at an excessively unreasonable price. I immediately walked back to the vendor on the street who sold me this souvenir, asking for a return. Even though he rejected my request as I expected, I still stood there chatting with him. I was not mad actually, but just wanted to know his reason… I really wanted to know how he felt about what he did. After he realized that I did not insist on getting money back, he started to chat with me. I even shared my cigarette with

him and lit it for him. Then I asked, "How dare you sell it to me at such an unbelievable price?" He seemed to be sincere when he told me, "You may be here just once in your life, but I am here every day… and I may be here forever. If you were not the person I could rip off (坑), who should I rip off?" He is so canny, and… smart in some way, you know. This is a cost-benefit analysis, and he did some crisis management by talking to me as an acquaintance in the end…. (laughing). But the same situation just occurs everywhere… also in my business experiences here. My wife is Chinese, but she herself could not even bear it. She likes to live in Taiwan since you can trust people there, you can trust the quality of what you eat and what you buy… I have carefully thought of this country, how it could be so strong when people, even its own people, have no trust among each other… My conclusion is that it should be attributed to the success and strong power of the Communist Party. Without such authoritative control over this society by the Communist government, China could not be such a strong country as it is now. (He nodded his head seriously like he'd made an important conclusion.)

From a business perspective, Lei's father agreed on the business strategy of the vendor by pointing out the social norm of doing business in Mainland China. He also told me how many times he had been cheated by his local business partners, and how he had learned to read local people's minds when he chose business partners thereafter: "You always need to prepare to be cheated even though sometimes you still want to trust people here… I am not saying all people are bad… My wife is a local as well, but you just need to protect yourself… It may be just the way it is here. But you know, I don't have to prepare myself to get hurt when I do business in Taiwan. You don't even need to sign contracts with people if you know them well. A word can

make a deal there. But here, you need to be very careful to look at contacts over and over again. Even so, sometimes you are still cheated," Lei's father said with a bitter smile. By learning to read people's intentions, he realized how different social norms required that he learn different ways to do business in the two places. His daughter Lei also told me that he continued telling her that she needs to distinguish among her friends who can be trusted and who cannot, and also reminded her that she has to be honest, particularly in the Mainland since she is a Taiwanese. Lei's father thus taught her the local social norm for self-protection, but asked her not to apply it for reasons of morality. He tended to teach Lei to use the other social norms followed in Taiwan as a basis for their group belonging.

Yun shared a similar story. Her mother was out of control once and cried like a baby in front of her, because she could not stand "hearing lies everywhere in the Mainland, on TV and from people," and felt exhausted living in Shanghai since "she has to protect herself and her children whenever we go out." Yun has three siblings, and she described to me how local people looked at her whole family every time they were out for dinner or shopping, particularly when she and her siblings were little. She said her mother had to find excuses to explain why they had more than one child in her family when the Chinese were only officially allowed one:

> Sometimes my mom said that we were an ethnic minority, and sometimes she even said that my older sister and I were not her kids (laughing a lot). You know, it was so ridiculous! The many kids in my family had nothing to do with them at all. But it even becomes a clue to show that we are not local people but outsiders, so we easily got ripped off (rolling her eyes). So sometimes my mom told me to go away from her when she wanted to buy something on the street or in stores… You feel ridiculous, and sometimes it's funny, but most of the

time… insecure and pathetic. You need to pretend to be who you are not… for survival, for being equally treated… I realized that most Taiwanese people, including my mom, many of my friends, and maybe even myself, changed our personalities or behaviors after we moved here… toward being more sensitive, protective, and even defensive… My friends agree with me, too. We think this is because we just need to protect ourselves for our survival here. (I asked, "You are protective as well when you go back to Taiwan?") … I am not sure… (thinking for a second) Maybe… It is not easy to notice my own reactions since sometimes you just act before you think… But I hope not. I don't like it… (I asked her for further clarification)… I mean, sometimes I don't like who I am here, so I hope… I can be who I was in the past when going back to Taiwan.

In another interview, she told me that her local tutor shared a lot of "ridiculous" local news with her, and she learned that "this is not a place in which people can trust others":

My tutor is a local Shanghainese, and we usually chatted a lot with each other when she came. She told me of a case occurring in another place, not Shanghai, where a local official hit a college student from a poor family and ran away. He only paid 60 thousand RMB to be released (about US $9,600). A life is only worthy of 60 thousand RMB! She also told me not to study law as a major in college because law is useless in China, people studying law have no future. What works here is only the power of money and authority, and usually, when you have one, the other comes along. See the "85°C Coffee (Bakery Cafe)"[46] The coffee shop is everywhere in Shanghai, and its company has a booming business these years

[46] 85°C Bakery Café is a Taiwanese chain of coffee shops that serves various coffees and baked goods.

since people in Mainland China, particularly in Shanghai, are getting much richer nowadays than before … But you know, some coffee shops among them are fake. They are copycat shops (山寨店)! They look exactly the same as 85°C Coffee, have the same coffees, cakes, cups, and even napkins and straws, but they are not real 85°C Coffee. One of my father's friend works as a high-ranking manager of that coffee shop company, but he told my dad that his company tried to sue those faked shops, but it did not work since those copycats with the name of "85C coffee" are not illegal according to the law here. Isn't it funny? My dad even said… we can only trust Taiwanese here, or most of the Taiwanese… oh, and the Japanese too, but not Koreans.

Aside from the trust issue among people, Yun pointed out the problem she and some of my research participants and their parents have: people's lack of trust in the law and societal systems. Another high school student, Mei, asked me, "When people in a country cannot even trust their laws, what can they trust? When people cannot be protected by the laws of their country, the final line of defense, how could they trust each other?" Many of my research subjects attributed the social trust issues in Mainland China to the corruption of government, and some of them, including Chinese teachers in Mingdao, also attributed the shortage of social trust to the lack of spiritual belief caused by the prohibition of religion in Mainland China. In their observations, when social trust that is supposed to be a significant cultural norm in a society does not exist in Chinese society, people do not adopt trust as a new social norm, where for some, the strange aspects of living in Mainland China is like an "Alice in Wonderland" experience, as another student's mother put it. Many Taiwanese parents also worry that their children growing up in the Mainland have limited opportunities to learn how to trust people and neither can they be trusted

after they grow up. A father of a 7th grader said, "They may learn how to win a game without following the rules… But maybe 'no rule' is the new rule of their generation, particularly in Mainland China." This view may represent how new social norms are produced in a generation, and reproduced for following generations.

The majority of Taiwanese transmigrant youths told me how they felt, how the outside local world could not be trusted based on their and their families' experiences, and also, they mostly shared with me their divergent concerns with social trust issues among their peers. Due to their transmigration background, many of my research participants have school-transferring experiences, some more than one. According to my field notes, one of my 8th-grade participants had been transferred among six schools during his nine-year residency in the Mainland. Those young people, at an adolescent age when they were seeking their group identities, often have difficulty building up trust with others and building bonds with their peers, which is very painful for most of them. On the one hand, they need to and want to establish attachments and secure relations with their cohorts. On the other hand, they tell themselves not to put too much weight in friendship so as to protect themselves from getting hurt, since "saying goodbye is just like bread and cheese (家常便飯) (meaning, with attachment comes inevitable separation and loss). Even though they all learn to adjust in new environments, whether smoothly or with difficulty, it is always challenging for them, particularly for Taishang students, to make steady and trustworthy relationships with others, including their teachers; they were not certain "who to trust and when they are going to leave." A male high school student, a loner in Taishang, straightforwardly looked into my eyes and told me, "I like those guys, but I don't want to make friends with them. I'd rather stay alone, because I don't want to feel the pain of separation anymore." Trusting friends and having groups formed around friendships is supposed to be the social norm for young

people, whereas in the lives of transmigrant youths I have seen so much struggle around having or not having social groups, and not identifying with or not being identified with these groups.

Familiarity to Cross-Strait Societies

Not all transmigrant youths have keen observations and reflections on the two societies they have lived in. For younger ones, or for those moving to Mainland China at an early age, the basic familiarity with cross-Strait societies and memories of their homeland tend to become a very important source for societal group identities.

For example, when I asked my research participants what they liked most about Taiwan and Mainland China, most of them tended to give me clear answers regarding Taiwan, concrete responses about food or music, or more abstract responses about democracy or the kindness of people. Yet those who left Taiwan at a young age were eager to share their childhood memories or their new home-coming experiences with me, or on the contrary, showed me their indifference towards their home visits. Lulu, a 12th-grader in Taishang, and her brother, Den, a 10th-grader in a well-known public local school, displayed a clear contrast in their experiences when going back to Taiwan. Den told me that he "felt nothing" in Taiwan and tried to not go back to Taiwan with his family every year since he "had nothing to talk about" with people and his relatives in Taiwan after living in Shanghai for five years. He said, "I did not know what they talked about even though I understood every single word they said. I felt very distant. It made me feel so weird, since I was supposed to be close to them, but I couldn't even understand their jokes."

His older sister, Lulu, shared an entirely different and even opposite reflection. She told me in the same interview when referring to China, "This is not my place. I love going back to Taiwan. Every time when I got off the plane, I could never help but take a deep breath (making a

deep breath), and almost wanted to kiss the ground! I felt so depressed when I came back to Shanghai since nothing here is interesting. I cannot share in the topics they [her brother and his friends] talk about or the online games they like to play. Just so different." She told me that she went out to explore new things in Taiwan but usually stayed home in Shanghai, when her brother Den always stayed at home(宅男) in both places. Many of my participants who stayed in the Mainland longer than Lulu and had more societal encounters in Taiwan were inclined to positively identify themselves as Taiwanese. When I challenged them as to whether they understand or recognize the way people talked and behaved in Taiwan, they mostly expressed their high interest and quick adjustability in learning and picking up the jokes, words, thoughts, and life styles of people in Taiwan. Those youth who had stayed in the Mainland for long periods of time and had less societal encounters in Taiwan or had more societal experiences in their host society still seemingly identified themselves as Taiwanese, because they "were born in Taiwan, or have a Taiwanese passport." They barely identified or even denied their societal identification as Chinese since their default identity is Taiwanese due to birthplace or legal documentation. There are numerous conditions that affected their understanding of local society, even though they may not know or recognize many social norms in Taiwan like their counterparts, or engage the norms that they are expected to follow.

Cultural Identity and Social Grouping

In addition to political and societal belonging, cultural identity is another significant feature that shaped Taiwanese group identities. As opposed to social identities that are easily observed through transmigrant social lives in cross-Strait societies, their sense of cultural belonging is more clearly reflected in their family and school lives. The salient cultural features highly

associated with their cultural belonging include language use, local and traditional cultures, family connections, youth culture, and recognition of educational values.

The widely-viewed "Cape No. 7 (海角七號)" Taiwanese movie that describes how a group of young Taiwanese people who love music pursue their dreams was particularly popular among young people, and many of my research participants watched the movie on the Internet or in school[47] and talked about it during my fieldwork year. Among the various reasons they gave me for their affection toward this movie, one of my 10th-grade female participants said, "I like this movie because its characters speak in the Taiwanese dialect, which makes me have 'the feeling,' and also, it is so special because it has nothing special." The essence of this movie, unspoken common culture shared by people who have similar life experiences in Taiwan, speaks to young transmigrants looking for something to identify with when living in another land, where people may speak different dialects and therefore not understand the subtle aspects of their culture. My field observations and interviews showed that these youths display many cultural understandings and cultural disconnections among themselves and others in both lands, and how they build up, reinforce, and change their cultural identities is an ongoing concern.

Language Use

Language and the ways it can be used in various ways to strengthen, maintain, or transform people's identities has long been studied by sociolinguists (Bucholtz & Hall, 2004, 2005; Coupland, 2014; Duff, 2002; Shankar, 2011). Taiwanese transmigrant young people's cultural identities are shaped and demonstrated through their use of language variations, mainly in the type of dialects, phonological features (accents), lexical terms, linguistic pragmatics, and styles.

[47] The Taishang School played "Cape No. 7" to all high school students in a large classroom once after their mid-term exam.

Below, I describe how and why youths use accents and dialects in different scenarios and apply different lexical terms in various contexts to express the nuances of their cultural identities.

In a Cross-Strait context, even though Standard Mandarin is the official language recognized and used in both Taiwan and Mainland China, people in Taiwan are generally thought to speak Taiwanese Mandarin, compared to people in Mainland China who speak Standard Mandarin. Meanwhile, according to Huang (1993), approximately 75 percent of the population in Taiwan can speak Taiwanese (or the Taiwanese dialect), and a very large portion of people in the Shanghai area are able to speak Shanghainese, a Wu dialect. Aside from Mandarin, the Taiwanese dialect was the most popular language my research participants spoke, followed by the Shanghai dialect and the Hakka dialect. Despite the popularity of the Taiwanese dialect, some of the young Taiwanese transmigrants argued that they can only understand and speak a little of the Taiwanese dialect, while a few students were fairly fluent in it for daily communication. Only a few participants reported that they could speak the Shanghai dialect like a native, and a few students who were studying in the local program could understand and use simple Shanghai dialect phrases for communication purposes. The majority of transmigrant youth told me that they were not able to understand or speak any of the Shanghai dialect. Most of those students indicated that they learned the Taiwanese dialect mainly through talking to their families in both Mainland China and also Taiwan, speaking to their Taiwanese friends within or outside schools in Mainland China, and watching TV programs through satellite or the Internet. Those youth who could speak the Shanghai dialect mostly reported that they learned the Shanghai dialect from their Chinese peers and teachers in schools.

Taishang and Mingdao schools were important settings in which transmigrant youths acquired and practiced languages, and played a role in shaping students' language identity with

the Taiwanese dialect, but in different ways. Mingdao provides its Taiwanese students a place to acquire and use the Shanghai dialect. Aside from Mandarin, the Taiwanese dialect is the second most-used language in Taishang, and semi-privately used among Taiwanese teachers and students in offices and classrooms, including cafeterias. Likewise, due to the language use policy and various regional and linguistic backgrounds of Chinese teachers and students in Mingdao, the Shanghai dialect is also semi-privately used mostly among some Shanghai teachers and administrative staff, and some private conversations between teachers and students who both have Shanghai backgrounds.

To highlight their Taiwanese background, students in Taishang speak the Taiwanese dialect much more frequently than their Taiwanese teachers, who tend to be respectful to their Chinese colleagues by not using it. Based on my observation, Taishang students use the Taiwanese dialect on various occasions and everywhere within school for different purposes. In general, the dialect is used by Taishang students to reinforce their identity as Taiwanese, build up intimacy with each other and with their Taiwanese teachers. These students sometimes use the dialect to segregate themselves from their Chinese teachers by speaking Taiwanese dialect to each other, or show their resistance by talking to their Chinese teachers in the Taiwanese dialect even though this is strongly discouraged by Taiwanese teachers.

Speaking Taiwanese has been common in youth mainstream culture in Taishang School. While not all students can speak the Taiwanese dialect, in this environment they all acquire popular slang and sing popular songs in the Taiwanese dialect, as seen in the dialogue below:

(Several male high school students, including Dan, Didi, and Huang, smoking in their semi-secret place on campus after lunch.)

Huang: (holding his cigarette) My friend who is in Taiwan now said that he can buy that black *chaoti* (潮 T, popular T-shirt) for you, and bring it back here to you when he comes back to Shanghai next week if you want. But you need to make the decision soon.

Didi: (Exhaling the smoke) Good. *How much* (spoken in Taiwanese dialect)*?*

Huang: Don't know (spoken in Taiwanese dialect). I can ask him now. (He called his friend in Taiwan on his cellphone, which is not encouraged on campus in the daytime. He talked to his friend over the phone mostly in Taiwanese dialect. He put the call on hold as he told Didi the price of the T-shirt.) Hey, he said NT 1500 (almost US $48).

Didi: Fuck (spoken in Taiwanese dialect). *So expensive!* Okay.

(Huang simply and quickly told his friend in Taiwan to buy the shirt, and he hung up the phone.)

Dan: (talking to Didi) Fuck! Are you a nut? (spoken in Taiwanese dialect) Just a T-shirt, NT 1500?! (He turned to me) *He is a nut* (spoken in Taiwanese dialect). You say… Am I right? (I laughed.)

Huang: Are we still going to have hotpot in Kunshang this Saturday night?

Dan: Yes. At the hotpot restaurant we went to last time. Last time, Jenny (a female high school student in the next class) told her dad (the owner of the hotpot restaurant) to give us a discount, which was good. And they serve a lot of fresh meat, not like the local restaurant run by a-la-a… They always gave us some strange stuff. I am not used to the food's flavor there. It sucks. Also, Tony (an 11th-grade male high school student) saw some hot Taiwanese girls there last time. (Other boys laughed with him. Then he turned to me.) Hsiang-ning, do you want to join us? Jenny and her friend may go too. Go with us!

Huang: We are going to KTV after having hotpot. It was crazy fun last time. Didi got drunk… very drunk. (laughing)

Dan: (taking to me) Go *sing songs* (spoken in Taiwanese dialect). We can sing "I Love Taiwanese Girls (我愛台妹)[48]" to you! (Huang and Didi followed Dan in singing the song.

(meanwhile, Mei came to look for Dan.)

Mei: Uh oh… I just knew that you guys must be *smoking cigarettes* (spoken in Taiwanese dialect) here. Oh! Hsiang-ning, you are here too. (laughing) How is it? Is *Smoking cigarettes* (spoken in Taiwanese dialect) with them *fun* (spoken in a broken Taiwanese dialect)? (I laughed since I know she was joking.) *Did you eat* (spoken in Taiwanese dialect)? (I replied in the Taiwanese dialect, *"Yes, I ate. And you?"*) *I ate*. *Excuse me* (spoken in Taiwanese dialect). I need to talk to Dan about the singing competition. (Then Mei started talking to Dan in Mandarin about the school singing competition arrangement.)

Not only is it used in private, the Taiwanese dialect is often spoken in class, as well. When I observed classrooms in Taishang, I heard the dialect in nearly all classes, including English class. The dialogue below that I recorded in an 11th-grade chemistry class illustrates how Taiwanese was used for communication:

[48] "I Love Taiwanese Girls" is a popular song mixed with Mandarin Chinese and English and performed by the Taiwanese rapper MC Hotdog and singer Zhang Zen-yeu. The song's lyrics are about the character of Taiwanese girls and Taiwanese youth culture.

(The male Taiwanese teacher in his late 30s introduced chemical formulas, and how those formulas can be applied to the use of a fire extinguisher.)

Teacher: The formula I talked about can be used in many devices in our lives. In particular, the lime powder… Oh. By the way, don't touch it with your hands without wearing gloves. The lime can "bite people (咬人, spoken in Taiwanese dialect)."

Zhi: What is *"bite people* (spoken in Taiwanese dialect)"?

Teacher: The lime can bite people. (he repeated this sentence completely in Mandarin)

Zhi: Oh.

(Another student started talking in class about his own experience of this, where his remark ended in the sentence, "The lime can 'bite people.'" (spoken in Taiwanese dialect)

Teacher: (Bringing up a fire extinguisher he brought with him to the table from the floor) Did you see the TV news yesterday?

Ming: Oh, teacher, *I did.* (spoken in Taiwanese dialect) The secret kid of the owner of Risheng Securities Company? (his answer made the whole class burst in a laugh.)

Teacher: (he glanced at Ming yet did not change his topic.) No, I was talking about the new spray fire extinguisher designed by Yunlin Technology University…

Ming: Teacher, do you say *Yunling?* (spoken in Taiwanese dialect)

Teacher: (Nodding his head.) Yes, Yunlin Technology University.

(The teacher introduced the theory of the basic fire extinguisher, and explained how in the new version spray could be made in a very simple way, and was much better than the old style of fire exstinguisher.)

Ming: Teacher, *This is too much exaggeration* (spoken in Taiwanese dialect). *How could it be possible? Teacher, if this is true, dog shit can be food as well.* (spoken in Taiwanese dialect) (The whole class laughed again.)

Dan: Ming. (Dan tended to remind Ming to control his words.)

Teacher: (he did not show a different expression, and still kept his voice as calm as usual) Really. It seems very easy to use the new spray extinguisher, which is very effective too. I believe even *Malasun*[49] (spoken in Taiwanese dialect) knows how to use it. (when hearing the teacher say "Malasun," the whole class burst out laughing and started to talk to each other, so then the teacher asked for their attention)

Dan: (asking a completely irrelevant question) Teacher, do you know the food poisoning incident that recently occurred here [Mainland China]? My dad *said* (spoken in strong Taiwanese Mandarin intentionally) nothing is safe to *eat* (spoken in strong Taiwanese Mandarin intentionally) now.

Ming: *It does not matter.* (spoken in Taiwanese dialect) Those *A-la-a* (spoken in Taiwanese dialect) still eat all that stuff. They are still alive, so we also can *eat* (also spoken in strong Taiwanese Mandarin intentionally), it as well.

Gigi: Yes, the appropriate authority is actively and effectively making their best effort to investigate this incident. Under the great leadership of China's government, we have absolute confidence that this case will be solved very soon. (Gigi talked in very standard Mandarin which can be heard on local official TV news and her exaggerated accent and fabricated articulation made the class laugh)

[49] Malasun (馬拉桑) is the name of the most important supporting actor playing the role of a comedian in the film "Cape No. 7."

Teacher: (pretending to cough, but also could not help but smile) You just need to drink more water, and that will be fine since… (the teacher started to explain the chemical principle of detoxification through drinking water, and then students listed a lot of local Taiwanese foods in the Taiwanese dialect to ask the teacher if those items are safe to eat)

Dao: Teacher, so food in Mainland China could *"bite people."* (spoken in Taiwanese dialect; after Dan concluded, Ming suddenly started singing the song, "You are my flower (你是我的花朵),"[50]and a lot of students joined him right away and the teacher immediately asked them to come back to their textbooks)

Language mixing, accent switching, and code switching are common in Taishang School among students' daily conversations and in classroom settings. Like the transcribed dialogue above, most students perform automatic dialect switching in most situations to present their closeness to Taiwan's culture and families, to obtain recognition from their Taiwanese peers when they speak Mandarin with intentionally stressed Taiwanese accents to express their sarcastic attitudes towards China's people, society or government. Speaking standard Mandarin is represented as a mark of contradicting dominant ideology that students in Taishang tend to disregard. I had seen a group of high school students playing a language game to catch each other's standard Mandarin "accents." The one who accidentally spoke Standard Mandarin had to have a mark, like a pig nose or an ugly face, drawn on his/her body, such as arm or the back of hand. They called it, "eye-for-eye (以牙還牙)" since most of them attending local schools had experiences of being teased by their Chinese classmates and teachers due to their Taiwanese

[50] "You are my flower (你是我的花朵)" is a pop song sung in mixed Mandarin and Taiwanese dialects. After a group of high school students performed this song in the school singing competition, it became one of the most popular songs circulated in Taishang during my fieldwork year.

Mandarin accent. Through the distinction between two accent variations, student use of Taiwanese Mandarin serves to pull themselves closer to Taiwan, and not speaking standard Mandarin pushes themselves away from their Chinese counterparts.

Language code switching is usually used by youths when they ask simple questions, make greetings, express their emotions, make causal comments, tease each other, or have criticisms. Some of my participants shared with me how they feel more self-expressive when they speak the Taiwanese dialect, even if only using limited terms, and they also feel better understood by others when their peers respond to their expressions in the Taiwanese dialect, as well. These youth tend to obtain their recognition from their cohorts and also show their recognition of others and mutual understanding through the use of code switching. The mutual recognition in this case strengthens their group cultural identities.

Notably, I seldom heard the Taiwanese teachers publicly speak a complete sentence in the Taiwanese dialect, and only short terms. Students were usually highly aware of those lexical terms and easily acquired them while tending to practice those new lexical terms later on. For instance, the term *"bite people"* became one of most popular words used by students in that class for a period time thereafter. The usage of *"bite people"* was even acquired by high school students at other levels, who also taught other teachers how to use this term in different occasions. I even heard this term used by some students to describe their school principal and to express their opinions about the principal's personality. In such a context, language code switching is further used to form a new semantic use; that is, those youth not only acquire lexical usage, but also produce their own semantic use within the group formed by Taiwanese students and teachers as new social norms. Over all, their cultural identity with Taiwan is clearly shaped and reinforced within schools through language acquisition and reproduction. The use of

language in Taishang, including accent switching and code switching, not only presents how language variations are employed by transmigrant youth, but also shows how the use of language becomes a social norm that students create, distort, recognize, or follow to interact with people in their group.

Compared to students in Taishang, transmigrant youth in local schools, regardless of whether they study in local or international programs, never use the Taiwanese dialect in the school's public settings, but they may use it in private spaces within the school. I heard them speak the Taiwanese dialect to each other, where they tend to learn simple Taiwanese lexical terms, such as "watch TV" and "go to the restroom" from each other. In their interviews, some participants even tried to talk to me in a Taiwanese dialect to show their closeness with me. For some of them, the use of the Taiwanese dialect serves as a Taiwanese group code and social norm that other Taiwanese students are expected to recognize and learn in order to be included. Lei often complained to me about the two other study participants, "They sometimes talked to each other in Taiwanese dialect, but I just couldn't understand. I didn't like it, so I asked my dad to teach me when I went home during weekends."

Many of my participants shared their similar experiences with me, such as how they wanted to learn the Taiwanese dialect to highlight their being Taiwanese in Mainland China. When I first met Sun at a small coffee shop in a suburb of Shanghai, her very standard Mandarin, even with some Beijing accent, surprised me. When I expressed my surprise, she told me:

Sun: I am like a local here. (laughing and nodding her head) I almost completely merge into them. Even my accent is assimilated, and my Shanghai dialect is perfect, and it is very hard for them to realize that I am Taiwanese. But my parents are "Benshengren" (native residence

in Taiwan), and *they always talked to us in Taiwanese at home.* (she repeated this sentence in Taiwanese dialect again) They insisted on talking to us in Taiwanese because they think it is very important to keep our roots when we are outside [homeland of Taiwan]… My younger brother was six months old when he was brought here, so my mother made him watch "Flying Dragon in The Sky"[51] as soon as they realized that he had his local nanny's accent when he was two. (laughing) I learned the Shanghai dialect in order to survive, to merge with the locals, and for my future here. But when I was able to speak Taiwanese to local people in Taiwan when going back to Taiwan to visit my other relatives with my parents, the feeling… is totally different. I told my mom that Taiwanese dialect sounded weird and annoying when I was little, but… I like to speak it to Taiwanese people whom I met here… (I asked her how she could speak such standard Mandarin and she laughed) When I was in an elementary school, they [my family] all said I have a Mandarin accent, and others [my peers and teachers in school] all said that I have a Taiwanese accent. Even my teacher told me that she could not talk to me because she was afraid of being impacted by my heavy Taiwanese accent…

Even though many young transmigrants in local schools tend to learn Taiwanese dialects, they mostly acquire or intentionally learn to speak standard Mandarin instead of keeping their Taiwanese accent when they speak Mandarin. Like other stories, Sun's example shows that for transmigrant youth, language resources are used for different reasons. On the one hand, learning the Shanghai dialect helps youths become close to local people, and build up their local social connections, for practical use in their host place; on the other hand, they value being able to

[51] "Flying Dragon in the Sky" is a Taiwanese TV drama aired from 2000 to 2001 with 212 episodes on Formosa TV.

speak Taiwanese dialect as it helps them make connections to their counterparts in Mainland China and also families in Taiwan in order to keep their "roots" for identity maintenance.

While Taiwanese youth learn and use different accents and dialects in school, they also tend to use the Taiwanese dialect outside school as a form of Taiwanese group identity to distinguish themselves from locals, recognize those with similar transmigrant backgrounds, and to gain practical benefits. Aside from their own descriptions, I have witnessed numerous times how they choose to speak Taiwanese to each other rather than Mandarin in various scenarios outside school, including bargaining with street vendors, making comments on others in public, checking other people's nationalities, and making new friends from Taiwan. Using Taiwanese dialect becomes a social norm in this case, which draws a boundary between their own groups and others who cannot speak the dialect. Those Taiwanese without such linguistic capability are expected to learn the Taiwanese dialect in order to gain membership in the group. Meanwhile, young transmigrants also tend to switch their language terms between Mainland China usage and Taiwanese usage in the two societies. For instance, the taxi driver is called "Shifu (師傅)" in Shanghai, but "Sijidage (司機大哥)" in Taipei. Transmigrant youth told me that they usually consciously switch language terms between the two places, but sometimes unconsciously utter the terms used in the other society, where many of those interlocutors would question their backgrounds right away.

Particular ways of talking used to discern them from local people indicates a visible and also gendered characteristic of young people's dialects, where that of the Taiwanese is feminized. In Mingdao almost all Chinese teachers whom I encountered commented that my Mandarin was "too soft and too Taiwanese." A Chinese in her late twenties told me, "Xiao Wang, once you open your mouth to utter the first sentence, I can tell you are from Taiwan since you all,

including guys, talk too soft and too girly." Many of my participants also told me how they are easily discernible in Mainland China, and learning the tone (口氣) local people use is the most difficult when they try to become invisible. Meanwhile, some of my participants and their parents showed their concerns about their language tone and assimilation in both countries.

> Yun: I need to pay close attention to my tone when I go back to Taiwan, to not talk like a Shanghai girl, because all girls in Taiwan talk nicely and softly. If I use the way I talk here when I am back to Taiwan people will think I am "a crazy woman." (瘋婆子, spoken in Taiwanese dialect) But if you don't use the local tone here when you talk to them, they will eat you up. In particular, you need to act and speak like a local person when you argue with them, like… when you need to get a refund for any broken items you bought here. If you talk too softly, no one will care about you… The situation is particularly serious in Shanghai. Since the toughness of women in Shanghai is very well-known, you need to… "woman-up" [per these Shanghai women] to get what you want here. (she said "woman-up" in English, and preceded to flex one of her arms to me in a power gesture in jest)

Like Yun's situation, many of my participants argued that they have to use different ways to communicate, negotiate, and in particular, argue with people in the two societies, and emphasized that the interaction will fail if they use the improper way. Interestingly, while the Shanghai female's typically "unfeminine" way of talking was often brought up by my participants and their parents to show the contrast of language tones between two societies, none of my participants prefer to use the local "tough" tone in private, even though I realize some of them may unconsciously do so. Being able to use the dominant language and its forceful style

brings transmigrant youth into the membership of the Shanghai group wherein they, regarded as insiders, employ local social norms in their interactions to obtain personal benefits or even to just protect their rights. In Yun's case, different language tones stand for the two social norms expected to be used in these cross-Strait societies.

Overall, language, in this China-Taiwan context, is used as a cultural resource and social norm that young transmigrants have access to and use differently in various places for identity and practical purposes. My research shows that family, school, and cross-Strait societies play significant but different roles in shaping students' cultural identities. Families generally grow up with young people whose language foundation and sense of mother tone is obtained by natural processes. Schools, in my study, however, play a more complicated role in shaping transmigrants' language identities. Taishang School provides students with a place to maintain their Taiwanese Mandarin and practice their mother tones. On the contrary, Mingdao and other local schools offer Taiwanese students an opportunity to acquire and practice standard Mandarin and the local dialect. Young transmigrants also use their local schools as a place to learn Taiwanese dialect from each other and use it as their group social norm. In general, the different types of school play a similar role in "purifying" or reshaping students' language dialects as reflections of the their political ideology. The cross-Strait societies thus provided my participants with two arenas to discern the nuances of "us" and "them" and to learn, recognize, and follow their different language social norms to fit into these two places.

Local and Traditional Culture

Different local cultural characteristics in two cross-Strait societies or between Shanghai and other cities in Mainland China are often brought up by my research participants, and even by

teachers I have interviewed, including Taishang teachers, Mingdao teachers who have been to Taiwan, or Chinese teachers in other local schools coming from places outside the Shanghai metropolitan area. The cultural characteristics they mentioned are made of tangible local cultures, such as food offerings and night markets of Taiwan, and also intangible ones, such as the kindness and honesty of people and cultural diversity in Taiwan. However, very few of my participants, even those who have resided in Mainland China for over a decade, ever mentioned their affection for local Shanghai culture. When talking about their cultural observations on the Shanghai area or Mainland China, they mostly point out many historical spots for tourists and related cultural traditions, restrictions, and modern tendencies during a time of rapid change. Teng, a male college student living in Shanghai for over 12 years, told me:

> Teng: Even though you can see a lot of famous historical and cultural sites in Shanghai, they are protected by the government intentionally for tourists, not by their own people. Their people would be willing to or love to tear those places apart if they can be paid (laughing sarcastically) But in Taiwan… you can see old stuff kept in Taiwan, even in small towns, kept by the people. You can feel the smell of old times. It is about different ways of people's thinking. In Shanghai, this international city, things are changed very quickly. I am wondering how people here kept their cultures since you absorb new things quickly, but meanwhile, you are losing what you had before… I feel that in Taiwan, the traditional thinking is what is kept best, and here, what is left is what can be used by its people or can bring them benefit… not folk culture (俗民文化). For instance, I really like night markets in Taiwan, not because of delicious local food, but… it has become part of people's lives. Here in Shanghai, you only can see modern malls and big shopping streets that are not platforms

where you can share your own stuff with others… But I can feel the sharing culture in Taiwan. Here, no one would share what he/she has with you… Also, bookstores in two places are very different. Last time when I went to back Taiwan, I sat in the Eslite Bookstore (誠品書店)[52] until midnight, but here, you cannot even find a free chair in a bookstore. Its staff will look at you and think you are weird if want to read a book there. You can easily sense the different cultures in your lives in two places.

Sun, who had spent 15 years in Shanghai, similarly shared her observations on the two places with me, contrasting her experience of locals in return trips to Taiwan with Shanghai:

Sun: You can feel the kindness of people (人情味) as soon as you get off the plane… The way people talk to you… not the language itself, but the way they talk to you, and… the way they treat you. People are always willing to offer their help. For example, last time when I went to Taiwan, I carried two huge suitcases while looking for a bus station in Taipei, people, total strangers… not only one, came to ask me if I needed help… Like they have set this up (說好的)… Then, after I got on the bus, I looked at the map, and people just spontaneously asked me where I was going, and gave me clear directions along with a detailed hand-drawn map… You know, it was really sweet. Even though I had not come back to Taiwan for years, I immediately felt this is a good place. Then when I returned back to Shanghai a few weeks later, the situation I encountered was totally different. Similarly, I also carried two large suitcases to catch a bus. The bus driver even did not want to let me in because he said I had two large suitcases. Then I argued with him in Shanghai dialect. After

[52] Eslite Bookstore is one of the largest retail bookstore chains in Taiwan. Some branches are open 24 hours a day to offer readers unlimited space and time in the bookstore.

that I could get on that bus, but he and a booking clerk just looked at me, and so did other passengers. No one even tried to help, but all just looked at me, and some even showed impatient faces. That was the first time I felt the huge difference in cultures of people between these two places, and felt lucky to be Taiwanese.

In my study, when I asked, "Could we talk about cultural similarities and then differences between two places you have lived?" tangible cultural characteristics were easily brought up by younger participants and newcomers, and those youth in college or elder transmigrants tended to look at those "intangible but noticeable" cultural practices that include the way of thinking, doing, and living for seniors in particular, beyond the scope of what people eat and wear, items that those younger ones usually pointed out. Regardless of tangible or intangible cultural characteristics, they seem to become social norms that circulate in society and become engrained in its people. Furthermore, older transmigrants were inclined to attribute cultural differences between the two places to educational problems and discrepancies, and usually continued talking about their overall observations on the local educational system and educational values, as well as their own local schooling experiences.

Aside from local culture, many research subjects in my study expressed their concerns with the current lack of Chinese traditional culture, and most of them attributed it to the impact of the Cultural Revolution. The youth who studied in Taiwan during their childhood and also had local schooling experiences tended to talk about how much traditional culture is missing in Mainland China, such as the lack of Chinese traditional festival culture, damage to historical and cultural sites, the absence of Chinese folk stories (including the ever-popular ghost stories), and the lack of kinship names. It is also notable that I heard similar concerns about losing Chinese traditional

culture from Chinese teachers and foreign English teachers in Mingdao, indicating how they feel traditional Chinese culture was still penetrating Taiwanese students' thinking and behaviors, but they could not see the same in their Chinese counterparts.

Courtesy is one salient component teachers think of as being part of traditional Chinese culture. I remember that a US English teacher in his early forties, who was teaching in Mingdao for three years, after learning about my research topic and subject, gave me his suggestion on how to find my research participants in Mingdao: "If you want to look for Taiwanese students, catch the ones who said 'thank you, sorry and please.'" Likewise, a male teacher in his sixties in our office who often shared his personal experiences during the Cultural Revolution with me, stated, "I feel the only good thing that the KMT government had done was bringing traditional Chinese culture to Taiwan, and the most important and living legacy of Chinese traditional culture which I can see now is the courtesy of our students from Taiwan, and I noticed it with you on the first day you came." Actually, I had sensed the difference in the very first few days after I arrived in Mingdao; I felt "something weird" but could not exactly point out what it was that made me feel that way. For instance, I expected to hear "sorry" after students bumped into me in the hallway, and "thank you" when I held doors for teachers and students, but I rarely received any of these remarks from any but some senior teachers in their fifties and sixties. I did not realize the reason for the "weird feeling," however, until I heard the male senior teacher's comment. After that, I started to pay more attention to my participants' behaviors in terms of courtesy, and did see this trait in most of my adolescent participants, even including those who were regarded as "misbehaved" by their teachers. For instance, even though it was rarer to hear "sorry" from them, it was common to hear "thank you" after I got them drinks, pulled out chairs for them, or even nagged them about what they did wrong. One day when I hung out with Sun in

her neighborhood, I saw her let people enter a door first and also let people cut into our line when we went to McDonalds. I asked her about her thinking behind behaviors:

I: Do you know I have been watching how you act similarly to and differently from local people?

Sun: (laughing) Really? I have no idea. But it doesn't matter. So what is similar and what is different?

I: (laughing) You need to let me read my field notes first. But I just saw that you let people in first, and you did not say anything as well when someone cuts into our line.

Sun: (laughing again) Sometimes I get upset, but not today... because they [people who walked into the door first and cut into our lines] are old. Did you see they bring their grandkids with them? (I nodded my head.) So I couldn't be angry. They are old. They just did what is convenient to them. They need to get their food and sit first because they are old. They couldn't stand up for too long. (she looked calm)

I: So would that be different if they were not old people?

Sun: (laughing and nodding her head) Hmm. I would ask them to line up…

I: Why different?

Sun: My mom said that we need to show respect to old people. She said that we need to be courteous here to show people that we are Taiwanese, that we are different from them [the Mainland Chinese].

When courtesy is regarded as one of most important features representing traditional Chinese culture, it becomes a distinguishable characteristic of Taiwanese people and social norms that

some Taiwanese insist on maintaining in their host society as the "model minority" – a term often used for Asians in Western countries to contrast them to other minorities. Outsiders may more easily notice cultural characteristics since insiders have lived with them and may not be able to notice the social norms they create and maintain by themselves. Once such fundamental social norms are adopted and followed by members within a group, those members seemingly continue to obey the same social norms beyond the group boundary, largely to show their group identity, which also serves to make a clear distinction between in-groups and out-groups.

Youth Culture

I spent a tremendous amount of time with the young Taiwanese students who were my study subjects. I used various strategies to approach them, allow them to become familiar with me, and further trust me and be willing to share their lives with me. I have closely observed their family and school lives, and also their lives in cross-Strait societies in order to learn, think, and examine their cultures – the ways they eat, drink, talk, think, laugh, cry, react to stress and frustration as well as positive things, interact with others, and see their lives and the world. Doing my fieldwork in two school sites together during weekdays, and observing my participants attending other schools during weekends allowed me to be able to "get out of the box" or switch from one box to another, to examine and compare the lives and cultures of those students in different school tracks, and even future tracks.

At such ages of identity seeking and formation, and in the unique China-Taiwan context, it is extremely challenging for Taiwanese youth in Mainland China to find peers with whom they want to identify and obtain identity. My field observations and interview data show that schooling choice and transfer of those youth plays a decisive role in shaping their social

grouping and regrouping, not only within their schools, but also outside the classroom, resulting in diverse Taiwanese group cultures within different subgroup cultures. The activity scope of young transmigrants, particularly those at and above high school levels, extends from their families, schools, and local communities to societies across the Strait. With the increased activity scope, their social networks, mainly friendship networks, are expanded, and the sequence can be applied across cultures. This along with the mobile nature of transmigration they enact, explains why students experience the struggles of social grouping and regrouping both within and outside their schools. The various characteristics of youth culture are more salient and noticeable among high school students than younger ones. Compared to their younger counterparts, older students have more freedom to choose what to eat, where to go, what to wear, how to spend their money, and who to make friends with. On the other hand, they have fewer friend choices and a simpler life circle than college transmigrants, where their modest autonomy in the high school setting provides a space in which their group cultures can be rather clearly observed.

My Taishang participants, students who mingled with their Chinese peers in local programs and foreign students in international classes, along with those located in HMT classes, all displayed their own youth subcultures differently from one another. For example, Teng, with his 12-year experience living in Shanghai, shared his observations on social groups of young transmigrants:

> Teng: It is *not* (said with a stressed tone) easy to make friends here since we [students from Taiwan] go to different types of school. Most of the time, you only meet those students going to the same track of schooling with you. I have been here 12 years. I attended a local

elementary school, a local middle school, a local high school… and a local university now. I did not meet my best friend until my last four months in a HMT class when I transferred there to prepare for the HMT college entrance examination (港澳台入學考試)."[53] At that moment, you just knew how it felt to have friends with mutual understanding… because we share similar growing-up backgrounds [studying in local schools before] and similar family [transmigrant] backgrounds, and we have similar ways of talking, doing things… and even thinking. Being honest, we [students from Taiwan] just have different friend circles. When I got some chances to meet other students from Taiwan, I always felt so excited… but I couldn't… I still feel closest to those friends who are similar to me [students going to similar school tracks]."

Aside from their own schools, young Taiwanese transmigrants have had fairly limited opportunities to meet their counterparts studying in different schools (particularly those in other types of schools), created mainly through their parents' social networks, or activities held by Taiwanese relative's associations, such as the Shanghai Associates of Taiwan (上海市台灣同胞企業投資協會),[54] New Place for Wives of Taiwanese Businessmen (台商太太新天地),[55] Tzu

[53] "HMT" is an abbreviation of the PRC regular institutions of higher learning that recruits overseas Chinese, Hong Kong, the Macao area, and Taiwan Province, in combined student entrance examinations. According to its title, this examination is not for local Chinese students.
[54] Shanghai Associate of Taiwan (上海市台灣同胞企業投資協會) is the most important association of Taiwanese people in Shanghai. It was founded in 1994 by first few Taiwanese businessmen who went to Shanghai for their business. The main purpose of the association is to provide a platform to strengthen Taiwanese businessmen's social networks, and also build up social connections with local business and also government.
[55] New Place for Wives of Taiwanese Businessmen (台商太太新天地) is an online community created in 2005 by a group of Taiwanese wives who went to the Mainland with their husbands. The main purpose of this online association is to provide those Taiwanese wives in the Mainland with useful detailed information about daily life in China.

Chi Foundation (慈濟), and online local or Taiwanese social networks, such as Renren (人人網) , Xiaonei (校內網),[56] MSN, and the PChome blog platform.[57] Yet these social networks are largely constrained by the student's busy school schedules and the lack of internet access in boarding schools, and are thus mostly limited to peers they see in their daily school lives.

My field observations show that Taishang high school students generally presented a strong and coherent Taiwanese group identity by maintaining Taiwanese life styles at home, having Taiwanese schooling and socializing with Taiwanese cohorts during weekdays, and mostly hanging out with their school friends or those who attended Taishang during weekends. Their clothing, stationery, and daily necessities, as well as the books they read outside class, the restaurants they visit with families and friends, the TV programs they watch, the songs they listen to or sing, and even the snacks they eat and beverages they drink are mostly from or highly associated with Taiwan. While some are related to foreign counties, such as the US, Japan or Korea, these are definitely rare compared to local offerings.

My high school participants in local programs usually did not have strong social ties either with their Chinese peers or Taiwanese acquaintances owing to their daily heavy academic loads and examination pressure. During my interviews with them, most of their concerns revolved around homework assignments, grades, and examination details. For example, Ying, one of my high school participants who studied in local schools since middle school, discussed for nearly 20 minutes how she performed badly in her last monthly examination and that she needed to

[56] Renren (人人網) and Xiaonei (校內網) are two of the most popular social websites used by young people in Shanghai, particularly middle and high school students during my fieldwork period. Like Facebook, their users can post messages, articles, and photos on those websites, and also find people they may or may not know in their real lives.

[57] The PChome blog is one of the most popular online platforms used by young people in Taiwan. Similar to Renren and Facebook, its users can post articles and photos on their blogs and also leave message on others' blogs.

work harder for the next examination. She said, "I am so tired. I *remember* that I liked sports and even horse riding before, but I do not have time for any of them now. I just *remember* they are what I liked before." Later on, when I asked her about her friendships, she simply replied, "I don't even have time to complete all of my daily assignments, and you ask me about friends? I don't think I can be given that luxury to make friends." When I asked those participants what music they usually listened to, what TV programs they watch, and what books or magazines they like to read, most of them similarly told me that they don't have time to read other books aside from their textbooks, and their lives are full of "textbooks, homework, exam papers, exams…" "Textbooks are our bibles," said a male student in one of best local high schools in Shanghai City. Like most of my participants, he also said to me, "Am I different from local Chinese students in my school? No. Under the huge examination stress, everyone is the same… Oh, this is not right. I am different from them. I am more stupid than them. My grades are always not as good as theirs… Do I think I am Taiwanese or am I recognized as Taiwanese? Of course, the grades of most students from Taiwan in my school are bad." In this group, academic performance is often used by my participants as one of indicators for their Taiwanese group identity, but as a negative mark of comparison.

Very differently, my participants in the international class presented opposite youth group cultures from those in the local program. Social class group identity seemed to be the best fit for presenting their sense of belonging. Comparable family socio-economic status cultivates their similar international consuming appetites and behaviors as well as fairly westernized life styles, which is reflected by Pierre Bourdieu's (1986) concept of "habitus." When I hung out with them and their international friends, they mostly talked about their travel experiences and plans, cellphones and clothing brands, good restaurants and NBA games, and popular foreign music

and parties that they had been to or wanted to attend. The cultural capital they shared further built up stronger social capital by meeting those friends with comparable backgrounds. This youth group is generally composed of people from diverse cultural backgrounds with similar cultural capital: "We are a group, and a close and strong group because each of us is different from one another," said Feifei. My study shows that my participants studying in the international program tended to identify themselves as "Taiwanese with international views" to distinguish themselves from their Taiwanese counterparts in the Mainland.

Other students in local schools or even in Taishang seem to live in another world. One of my Huadong participants, Didi, told me in discussing Taiwanese students in the international class, "They look cool. I didn't know what to say to them when we met at a party. They seem to have their own "secret language" (默契) when they talk… We seem to have nothing to talk about except we are both from Taiwan. But that's it." Likewise, Ying said, "I studied so hard. Not like them, they just dress pretty and fashionable, and play around. I don't believe that they can compete with me in the college entrance exams. It is impossible. I am much better… But… maybe they have time to learn something I cannot… like music or art. They may become a famous designer, and I will become an ordinary office worker in a bank." My participants in the international class tended to identify themselves as a group with diversity and global perspectives. The "international" group culture and status of those youth, for other Taiwanese counterparts, is very difficult to penetrate and acquire.

Most young Taiwanese in the HMT class have a longer transmigrant history than others, and also share similar family backgrounds in that their parents, mostly fathers, are small- to medium-sized business owners who went to Mainland China between the 1990s and early 21st century. Based on the consideration of their families' long-term plans and their own future careers in

Mainland China, those young people going through local schooling or short-term years in Taishang display very contradictory characters. Those attending local schools have more accommodating attitudes and socialized behaviors towards local culture and Taiwanese culture, and are more positive about their future. One of my participants told me, "I feel I have double advantages and opportunities. I can either go back to Taiwan after my college because of my high competitiveness, or stay in the Mainland since I have a lot of local friends here, and I know how things work here, too." On the contrary, those who had been in Taishang for some period of time and then transferred to the HMT later surprisingly tended to engage in more limited social activities than their other counterparts in the local program and in Taishang. As stated by a 12th-grade student, Debbie: "I feel that we all [young Taiwanese transmigrants] are bats, but we [those students who attended Taishang but transferred to the HMT class later in high school] … are like *the bats* among all bats... I have to give up a lot. All of my old friends are going back to Taiwan, but I am still here, not knowing if I will be able to settle here in the future. I don't have any local friends" The disconnection with their Taishang cohorts and also lack of belonging with local groups creates a double uncertainty that makes this small group of youth feel lost and unattached. "Taiwanese? I am Taiwanese, but a strange Taiwanese. Chinese? No. I just live here, but being honest, I don't know much about this place, nor people here." (Debbie looked at me with a sigh)

As part of a large group from Taiwan living in the Mainland, those young people share a general group identity as Taiwanese within their different definitions. However, as Perkins (2002) argued that peer influences and group social norms powerfully shape individuals' behaviors rather than their families, religion, media, and so forth, those youth reproduce and follow the differ social norms of their Taiwanese subgroups. When switching to another type of schooling

as their future plans change, young people need to go through social regrouping, look for new groups to identity with or be identified by, and learn the new social norms of their new groups. While the boundaries built up among those subgroups are shaped and reshaped through reoccurring social regroupings, young transmigrants need to be very flexible, skillful, and even knowledgeable to avoid becoming outsiders of all the groups.

Educational Values

Schooling is obviously one of most significant and fundamental concerns that my student sample and their parents have when they moved to Mainland China. Their schooling experiences and extended social education they experience in Taiwan and Mainland China indeed serve as a crucial basis for educational culture identity. Education in Taiwan and China is constructed by similar educational systems, including class subject, school schedule, school structure, and examinational systems, but educational values and social interactions between teachers and students are two major differences, according to my participants' experiences and fieldwork observations.

The "slapping incident" in Mingdao.

One morning, before I walked back to the teachers' office from a class, I saw a 7th-grade Chinese student crying in the hallway outside the office, facing the wall, while two of her friends stood nearby, looking worried. When I tried to approach her, I heard one teacher in the office yell, "Don't cry! You are not allowed to cry. Stand straight there until you say sorry!" I was astonished since I have never seen this happen in a middle school. Instead of talking to her, I passed by her to wash my hands first. After I returned, I walked over to her friends, and they told

me in a low voice, "Nancy was slapped by Teacher Zhao because she talked back when Teacher Zhao took her cellphone." Students in Mingdao are not allowed to bring cellphones to their classrooms. After I walked into the office, Teacher Zhao was still furious, and complained about Nancy's misbehavior to other teachers who tried to comfort him by criticizing Nancy's disrespectful words and behaviors. Teacher Zhao stated, "I was teaching her to show respect and manners. If she doesn't learn how to respect others in school, how can she respect others in the society in the future?" Another teacher responded, "Laozhao (Old Zhao, 老趙),[58] you don't need to worry. What you did was right… Also, if her parents did not worry about her, would you have to?" Approximately 15 minutes before the beginning of next class, Nancy's homeroom teacher went out to talk to her in a loud voice, demanding her to apologize to Teacher Zhao. Nancy walked into the office about five minutes after her homeroom teacher came back, and apologized to Teacher Zhao by simply saying, "Teacher Zhao, I am sorry." Her homeroom teacher started to scold her in front of Teacher Zhao, and asked Teacher Zhao to cool down. Teacher Zhao did not say a word until another teacher joined Nancy's homeroom teacher to have Nancy dismissed. No one talked about this "slap incident" afterwards, and a few days later, I heard from a teacher that Teacher Zhao was asked by the school authority to criticize himself and apologize for his "misbehavior" in front of all teachers in a weekly teacher meeting. Still, no one talked about it in the office after that as far as I know. But I heard of the aftermath from students a lot: two days later, when I passed by their classroom, I overheard that Nancy was talking to her friend, saying, "I hate Teacher Zhao. Who does he think he is?"

[58] In Mingdao it is common to hear senior teachers call other teachers by their last name with a character of "lao" (old, 老) or "xiao" (little or young, 小) to show their close relations and relation to those people they refer to. I was called "Little Wang" (小王) by senior teachers in Mingdao.

The "please-enter-again" incident in Taishang.

One afternoon, around three minutes after the English class started at Taishang, two male students walked into the 11th-grade class, and one of them was holding a drink. Meanwhile, the English teacher in her early forties, Holly, was reading a paragraph from a textbook in a lively voice. Holly said in English to two boys who were walking into the classroom, "Please stop there. (looking at her watch) Excuse me, do you know what time it is now?" The two boys nodded their heads without saying a word. Holly continued, "You are both three minutes late. Did you hear the class bell ring? Where did you go?" The boys looked at Holly and each other, and then lowered their heads a bit. Holly asked them, "Please go out and walk into the classroom with manners." The boys looked at each other for a second, turned back to the hallway, and then walked into the classroom slowly and uttered, "Baogao (報告)![59] Miss Holly. We are late. Sorry." Then they tried to walk back to their seats. Holly stopped them again, saying, "Please stop, I haven't said, 'Please have a seat,' and also, did you think what you did just now was the way you show proper manners? If not, please do it again. Also, please look at me when I am talking to you." The boys looked a little embarrassed but also a little upset. They glanced at each other, hesitated for a second, and walked to the hallway and came back again. This time when they walked through the door, they moved quickly and said in a rather clear and coherent voice, "Baogao (報告)! Miss Holly. We are late. Sorry." One boy continued, "We went to buy drinks and then went to the restroom during the previous class break… So we were late." The other boy added, "We will be on time to class next time. Sorry." Holly looked at them without any smile, and nodded her head, saying, "Thank you for telling me what happened. Please have a seat, and

[59] Baogao (報告) literally means "report." It is used by people in Taiwan in a formal setting, such as when people come into a classroom or office, or an ongoing meeting, they need to say this word loudly to show their interruption with politeness.

please do not be late from now on. This is my class time, so please show your respect to me and to the whole class." The two boys slightly nodded their heads when they sat back on their chairs. Other students in class looked calm during the incident. Then Holly returned to read the textbook, and explained a grammar point with her lively voice again.

In my interviews with these two boys, who are both my participants, I brought up this incident and asked for their reflections. Two of them similarly told me their positive comments about Holly that surprised me. One of them said, "I knew she was right… Of course, I feel very bad and embarrassed, in front of all those people… But I knew she was right, and she… she always applied the same standard to anyone, even to herself…. She apologized to us once… when she was late, about one or two minutes... So I could not say anything." Holly reflected this awareness in our interview, where she told me, "I have to set up some principles for my students to follow, and of course, I myself have to follow those same principles as well. If I myself was not able to make it, I should not ask them, not just because I am a teacher and they are students. I show my respect to my students, and I believe they would show the same respect to me too."

These two incidents display the roles of school authorities in two schools, and students' different responses to these incidents even though they are similarly "disciplined" in public. They also exemplify two largely different educational values, more teacher-centered versus more student-centered educational values. In Mingdao, students often came into the office to hand in assignments or helped their teachers to bring assignment books back to their classrooms. Yet I barely saw students straying into the teachers' offices. On the contrary, in the Taishang teachers' offices, students came to chat with their teachers from time to time. One Taiwanese teacher told me, "I feel that I am much busier during the class break than the class time since I need to chat

with them (陪他們聊天).” One Chinese teacher in Taishang pointed out one of differences between Taishang and local Chinese schools:

> In local schools, once the teacher said, “Be quiet!” the whole class would become silent in a second. Here, never. Also, in local schools, students cannot come to the teachers’ office on their own, and you need to knock on the door and have the teacher’s permission to come in. Here, no. Students just walked in, like they came to a market. Usually, you would not see students in teachers’ offices in a local school because they do not dare to. In that environment, teachers can complete their work earlier since they would not be interrupted by students. But here, teachers have to spend time dealing with students during class break. It is different. In our schools, students would not interrupt teachers’ work. It is a kind of mentality (意識).

Nearly all of my participants with local schooling experiences indicated that their local teachers’ harsh words made them feel very uncomfortable, devalued, and even “humiliated,” while most of the time it was due to their poor academic performance. Guan told me, “I received all possible humiliation that I may be given in my whole life within those three years. They [local teachers] would scold you with those horrible words… as crude as they could think of. It is enough. Too much.” Likewise, when Lulu compared the differences between Taishang with her schools in Taiwan and her local middle school in Shanghai, she pretended to have a chill and said, “That was a nightmare in my life, so I don't want to remember. The period seems… blank to me… But I can remember that my teacher said I was a guy with no brains but only muscles. But teachers here… they would appreciate students’ different merits. Teacher Li told me that exams are just exams. They cannot decide who I am, and I should not be decided by grades…

She said, “A grade is a number. The most important thing is if you learned something. You study to fulfill yourself, not for the college entrance exams.… Also, she told me that I am good at sports, but other students may be not… Everyone is different… Teacher Chen told me similar things too.”

Like Lulu, many of my participants in local schools shared similar experiences with me about how they are told to or choose to behave like other students, who are also advised or requested to make certain choices. In Taishang School they are much more encouraged than in local schools, and academic performance is not the most important value in most teachers’ eyes in Taishang. Teachers there tended to talk about many topics, issues, and values with students. Yet in my fieldwork observation at Mingdao, the most common topic teachers brought up with students was academic grades. Also, the notions and values of individualism are more emphasized in Taishang, when collectivism is highly stressed in local schools. Similar to many participants in the local program, one of my participants shared how she felt suppressed in school, which reflected a resistance to authority and conformity, saying: “It is so… dogmatic (教條主義). You have to do what you are told. You cannot have a different thought. Everyone has to be the same, and you need to follow… the rules… because all people follow them… For example, if all students drew white clouds, you could not draw grey clouds. Otherwise, the teacher would show your picture to everyone and tell you what you drew is wrong… It's like the opening ceremony of the Beijing Olympics. Everyone acts the same. It’s terrible.” The notion of collectivism with the characteristics of sameness, as important social norms in the Chinese society, is also reflected in the local school culture. The different foci on collectivism and the power of authority and individualism and the value of freedom in Chinese and Taiwanese educational systems respectively render the distance of Chinese teachers in Taishang away from the Taiwan group,

and similarly, result in the disorientation and even exclusion of Taiwanese student from the Chinese group and school culture. In short, those social agents with different educational beliefs and values as well as behavioral expectations in two educational systems clash with each other in their interactions, and the ones sharing coherent social norms with the dominant group, usually representing the school mainstream culture, are recognized and incorporated into the dominant group.

In addition, having competitive futures is the most significant reason for most Taiwanese transmigrant youth being placed into the local language program by their parents. Those parents expect their children to build up capabilities through fierce academic competition with large populations of local Chinese students. Yet my research showed that such heavy academic pressure becomes one of the main aspects of local schooling that those parents criticize and their children complain about. None of my participants sent to the local programs complained about their extremely heavy academic pressure and stiff competition to me, and most of their parents disagreed with local students' self-centered thinking and behaviors resulting from an environment full of intense competition. The mother of one of my middle school participants recalled, that when she was in the elementary school, she was selected by her teacher to play the role of Snow White in a school play, which caused her be excluded by other students, and many parents even went to school to argue with her teacher. Everyone wanted to be Snow White… They do not teach their students and kids how to cooperate with others, but only compete with others."

Teng similarly shared his experiences with me, saying, "Working with Chinese classmates and Taiwanese classmates is very different. In a Chinese group, there is always a leader telling you what to do and how to do it. But in a Taiwanese group, we discuss what to do, how to do it,

and who does what. In the end, things will all get done. The Chinese group shows your cooperation on the surface, but invisibly, severe competition is under the surface since everyone wants to be the boss, and don't care about others. Working with a Taiwanese group is real cooperation." The concern with people's self-centered thinking and behavior is extended from the school to the outside societal arena among my young participants and their parents, and they mainly blame the one-child policy for this selfishness, for the children do not learn to cooperate or compromise with siblings. They tend to argue that the notion and practice of cooperation and respect for others is lacking though needed in local family education, schooling, and societal education. Most of them described various scenarios they have experienced to show me how the one-child policy has largely and severely impacted local culture, society, and the future generations, and how they need to learn to stand up to protect themselves by using the same approach local students or peoples use. Taiwanese transmigrant youth and their parents mostly bash the various disadvantages of local schooling when they still argue having competitiveness and having local social networks with Chinese cohorts are very important for their or their children's futures. From their first-hand schooling experiences in local Chinese schooling, young transmigrant students learn how local Chinese think, act, and react, and try to adopt those social, cultural, and educational rules conducted by their local counterparts despite any disagreements. By maintaining their connection with Taiwanese cultural and educational values and beliefs, Taiwanese transmigrant students and their parents follow some so-called disagreeable social norms that are validated by contemporary Chinese society. The cultural knowledge and cultural capital they strive to build up and accumulate through education are for the purpose of future survival and wellbeing.

The experience of Teng, a Taiwanese student, is reflective of the multiple roles fellow-Taiwanese who hope to be part of their host country's culture must adopt, even though still feeling removed from it on many levels, including in the case of Teng, the hope to feel like a "whole" human being instead of being fragmented by the differing cultures.

Teng: I have two groups of friends, one is all Chinese, and the other one is all Taiwanese. I don't mix them together… because I am two different people in these two groups, and I'd rather keep it this way, as it is now. I am quieter in the Chinese group since I am not that interested in this group culture but I am used to it, so I would just do whatever they say. But I am… a leader in the Taiwanese group because I am more into it… I have a local girlfriend, a Shanghai girl. But being honest, we… cannot share everything… There is always something she does not understand or I cannot relate to… I feel I am always in a weird position, and pulled and pushed by various forces… Maybe someday, I will feel fine… feel whole.

The very different roles Teng plays in two groups he engages in and his relationship with his Shanghaiese girlfriend, along with aforementioned examples, illustrate how different social norms are created and circulated in Chinese and Taiwanese groups and across societies, and also how individuals are able, choose to, or need to learn and adopt two sets of dominant social norms in order to be incorporated into both groups that may not be integrated with each other in many arenas. The separation of two groups with different social norms generally results in young people's disorientation and struggles of social grouping, more pointed in the adolescent stage.

Conclusion

"I am Taiwanese (我是台灣人)" is the most common claim of identification among my research participants, but those five simple Chinese characters embrace very complicated meanings, particularly in a cross-Strait context constructed by interlinking historical, cultural, political, and societal relations over time, and surely conflicts that are "natural" in human society. Extending examination of the political meanings associated with "I am Taiwanese" in Chapter 4, here we encounter perceptions of "being Taiwanese" from societal and cultural viewpoints as they relate to young transmigrants' societal identity. These include ideas about societal openness, traditional vs modern civilization, wealth gaps, social trust, and familiarity to and distance from cross-Strait societies. Language use, local and traditional culture, youth culture, and educational values shape youths' overall cultural identity as Taiwanese, even for those who have lived for many years in the Mainland. By investigating societal and cultural belongings of the Taiwanese group, this chapter also reveals how identities inter-relate with social norms and pressure to conform.

As illustrated in this chapter, the two major sets of social norms, that of modern China and Taiwan, are used and produced by Taiwanese transmigrant youth to claim their identity as Taiwanese, and to make distinctions between themselves and Chinese individuals and groups, while also making connections to their host country and its inhabitants. The process of how Taiwanese youth produce the social norms for their own subgroups that can build up and maintain subgroup identity are diverse, but they share similar motivations, such as holding onto values they were raised with in their families and Taiwan culture, while simultaneously adjusting as necessary to the Mainland lifestyle and behavior, and adopting some level of interest in outsider personalities and cultural protests. Through social interactions with in-group members

and their practices, young people reinforce the social norms of their in-groups and strengthen their identity within these groups; they further differentiate themselves and others through interactions with out-group members who follow different social norms. In the end, the process of differentiation is more powerful than group assimilation when it comes to shaping young people's Taiwanese identity.

Scholars who looking at such issues have proposed the concept of a "life circle" that refers to a combined Mainland China and Taiwan, in which people can travel back and forth easily, even within a few hours. However, my research shows these young transmigrants, in reality, not like short-term business travels, encounter differences more than similarities between these two societies, and need to develop their long-term adjustment. In this way, the concept of life circle, for them, seems to be rhetoric instead. Hechter and his colleagues (2001) stated that adopting social norms contributes to individuals' avoidance of or escape from social dilemmas. In China-Taiwan contexts, individuals, serving as social agents, learn to and even have to recognize and follow (or reject) different norms of two places through their social interactions within the large social and educational ecologies of the two nations. They may therefore need to adjust their behavior to conform to different social norms under social pressure, as Bicchieri (2006) suggested. Scholars supporting behavior-based approaches have found that norms reflect and strengthen existing behaviors (Opp, 1982), and further explain that people gain positive emotional return from their group members and also are spared pain when with them (Hechter et al., 2001). Other scholars embracing externality-based approaches have argued that people's self-interests are constrained and sacrificed for the collective benefit by following social norms (Coleman, 1990; Ellickson, 1991), a model that certainly aligns with Chinese communism. My research participants exemplify the maintenance of certain values, beliefs, languages and

behaviors positively validated in the Taiwanese society or group that can bring them pride in being Taiwanese, even though in some situations their personal interests and attachment to their cultural identities need to be put aside. On the other hand, those youth adopt Chinese-dominant social norms in some situations mostly for reasons of self-protection or for personal gain.

Many scholars have suggested that social norms can be analyzed from two perspectives, that of descriptive and injunctive norms (Cialdini, Kallgren & Reno, 1991; Shaffer, 1983). Whereas descriptive norms refer to typical behaviors of people, injunctive norms represent a moral standard of people's behaviors (Christensen et al., 2004). In other words, they respectively characterize people's behaviors of what is done and what ought to be done (Hume, 1983). Specifically, injunctive norms, also called attitude norms (Perkins, 2002), are conceptualized as ideal self-standards with meanings related to morality and beliefs, where people feel proud or relieved when they follow such norms to meet their self-standards (Higgins, 1987). Injunctive norms, in turn, after being approved by others, are reinforced by social rewards and punishment (Christensen et. al, 2004). Compared to the external sanction of injunctive norms, descriptive norms, also called behavior norms (Perkins, 2002), are internalized to generate peoples' typical behaviors. The argument of Cialdini and his colleagues (1991) that "What most people are doing is probably the correct thing to do" offers a base on which people can reply to explain their adaptive behaviors. The values of political democracy, societal openness, civilization, social trust, courtesy, and so forth serve as injunctive norms representing the standards Taiwanese youth confirm and strive to uphold in their new land. This chapter demonstrates that keeping to these social norms confirmed by other Taiwanese community results in their taking pride in being Taiwanese and also strengthens their identification with Taiwan. On the other hand, observing and learning different social behaviors from other Taiwanese and Chinese, either in Taiwan or

the Mainland, becomes internalized as descriptive norms, thus reshaping their conduct that is reflected in their different social behaviors within two places or in two groups.

Even though different social norms are generally and evidently produced and implemented in two societies, my findings suggest that the boundary of two sets of social norms is blurred owing to the rapidly growing socioeconomic development of China, and also increasingly tense cross-Strait interactions. Transmigrant youth, living in and traveling between two societies across the Strait, demonstrate their flexibility in adopting different social norms, and also evidence certain gradual and possible integrating norms. One of my high-school participants said, "I feel like I am like Harry Potter. Now I am here, and then I will be there, and I have to know where I can use my magic power and where I cannot." For adolescent participants, deserting social norms that they have become used to or adopting those they have newly learned could be quite challenging. Yet, their lives also show flexibility in adjusting, and their accommodation and even somewhat developed ability to integrate the two sets of social norms of cross-Strait societies. Of course, this is easier for young people to do than the elderly. As Ke said, "We seem to and need to have a switch. You need to know when and how to switch to the other side to get it right… But sometimes you can get both right without making a switch! Maybe things are changing." Ke's expression of the concept of change being possible indicates an awareness of limits posed by being stuck in any one set of social norms found in the two societies. While cross-Strait migrants' behaviors and group belongings are shaped by tradition and habit, transmigrants also shape social norms of the two places they inhabit, in particular the consumption of pop culture, language trends, and other valued commodities. Ke's articulation further points out the changeable feature of social norms, and refers to the possible growing

integration of some social norms in two societies without the tensions that continue to be generated around these conflicting though interacting value systems.

To sum up, the perceptions of young people of being Taiwanese is constructed by their sameness shared with other Taiwanese people, and more importantly, by their differences from their Chinese counterparts through their social interactions with in-group members and daily negotiations with out-groups others. The assimilation and differentiation strengthened by their everyday interpersonal interactions with people surrounding them answer my research questions at the meso-level to demonstrate the influences of social interactions in (trans)forming people's identification. This chapter reveals two different social norms produced and reproduced in Chinese and Taiwanese societies and groups are combined to shape and reshape their identification with Taiwan, and to China, as well. Also, this chapter's depiction of youth's engagement in the process of negotiation and reproduction of social norms responds to my micro-level research question how individuals, as social agents, create and carry out their identities in their daily lives. Overall, this chapter presents that Taiwanese identity, created and negotiated by the transmigrant youth themselves through their experiences of living in two societies with different social norms, is the integrated identity composed of varying political, societal and cultural recognition of Taiwan.

Chapter 6: Migration, Capital, and the Third Culture Kids

"Where there's a job, there is my home. Compared to the people permanently residing in the Mainland for thousands of years, the ancestors of Taiwanese people crossed over the Black Ditch[60] and went to Chianan Plain.[61] They moved from place to place in search of water and grass (逐水草而居) for living, and so do I… Shanghai, is the place for adventurers."

An 11th year male student, studying in the local program in Shanghai

Shanghai has been a "city of migration" for hundreds of years, particularly in recent decades as an "international" city, and it accommodates people coming from different places in the Mainland and the world, building up countless connections with one another. In such an environment, various languages, dialects, and accents can be heard on every street. Among local people, internal migrants and foreigners, people from Taiwan, placed in an "in-between" position in the Mainland, are not native; neither are foreigners. Similarly, Taiwanese transmigrants traveling or moving between the cross-Strait societies are located in another "in-between" situation in their original place. They are unlikely to be regarded as locals in their host society, and are also likely seen as "betrayers" by people in Taiwan. In particular, my research participants, Taiwanese transmigrant adolescents, experience a double "in-between" life,

[60] "Black Ditch (黑水溝)" is the old name of the Taiwan Strait used in the Qing/Manchu dynasty of the 17th-20th centuries.

[61] "Chianan Plain (嘉南平原)" is an alluvial plain located in the central-southern region of western Taiwan. As the largest and most fertile plain of the island, it is regarded as a stretch of land rearing people in Taiwan.

struggling to learn how to orientate themselves and how to live their lives across the border for uncertain futures.

Building on the analysis of young transmigrants' group identities from the perspectives of political, societal and cultural influences discussed in Chapters 4 and 5, this chapter contextualizes youths' sense of their movements in the large transmigrant environment to further consider their positions as "third culture kids (TCKs)," and, along the way, their accumulation of various capitals produced and reproduced during their transmigration. In this chapter, the first section examines young people's transmigrant lives, mainly in their host society, from their thinking about "being (trans)migrants" in a cross-Strait China-Taiwan context. The second section describes the interlinking and dynamic relationships among economic, cultural, social and educational capitals that youths are expected to build up through transmigration. Finally, I consider whether and how scholarship on and concepts about so-called TCKs illuminates the in-between lives of young Taiwanese transmigrants. Through the self-reflections of the youth on their transmigration and expression of their disorientation, this chapter mainly answers to my micro- and meso-level questions to explore how the young transmigrants (re)build up their identification during the transmigrant process, and how they negotiate with others in both societies through social interactions to reform their senses of belonging which may change their identities. This chapter analyzes the creation and transformation of diverse capitals through interpersonal relations that also responds to another research question at the meso-level to show if and how the youth's identification may or may not be changed owing to the capital advantages.

Transmigration between Mainland China and Taiwan

When I began this study, I was quite hesitant to use the terms "(trans)migration" and "(trans)migrants" to refer to my research subjects due to the ambiguous sovereignty and national boundary in the specific cross-Strait relation. Yet, with the growth of open discussions regarding internal and external migration in China's society and also the development of broad explanations of migration in interdisciplinary scholarship, my research on the dynamics of young Taiwanese people's cross-Strait lives seemed to fit well into explanations of worldwide migration patterns. To be specific, different from a sojourner with a temporary plan of residing in a host society, and also distinct from the conventional image of immigrant "who uprooted themselves, leave behind home and country, and face the painful process of incorporation into a different society and culture (Schiller et al., 1995)," I regard my research subjects, young Taiwanese people moving to Mainland China for family reunion, as transmigrants who maintain multi-stranded relations across borders with both their home and host societies (Schiller et al*.,* 1995) in this dissertation.

Interestingly, when I explained my research questions regarding migration to participants, some raised an initial concern with me. "Am I a (trans)migrant?... I… I never thought about it. May I? What is (trans)migrant?," a 10th-grade male student asked me. When being asked such questions, I always encouraged my participants to define migration and migrant based on their own thinking first before they gave me their (trans)migrant identity answers. Their own definitions, orientations and explanations helped me construct how young Taiwanese people living in two societies see their mobile lives across the Strait, and how their mobile lives challenge their senses of belonging and identities. Actually, most of my participants rarely bring up the terms migration or migrant on their own, and tend to see their residence in the Mainland

as temporary, even though some of their families may have a long-term or permanent plan to reside in Mainland. The various perspectives they provided widen the range of features of China-Taiwan transmigration.

The transmigration between the Mainland and Taiwan, mainly from Taiwan to the Mainland at this stage, as Castles and Miller (2003) identified in his transmigration research, is highly-skilled people's movements from their own countries to those places with lower-wage laborers and larger markets for their career development and business benefits. In most of my research participants' families, fathers served as breadwinners who voluntarily chose to move, along with their families, to the Mainland, mainly for economic reasons. Based on their pragmatic economic concerns, transmigrant parents do not tend to fix their and their families' lives and futures in one place. In particular, among all of my research participants' families, those that have their own businesses in the Mainland are more flexible, or have to be more mobile in relation to their future plans, compared to others that are employed by enterprises.

A participants' father who owns a medium-sized factory in Kunshang told me, "We are migratory birds (侯鳥), migratory birds. A goal is at a stage, sometimes a short-term stage, but sometimes a long-term stage. Who knows where we are going? Who knows when we are coming back, or if we are coming back?" The metaphor of the life of a migratory bird reflects the journeys of those transmigrants' families and the uncertainty of life of young transmigrants. To answer my question regarding their family's future plan, Lei's father shared his consideration of their journey:

> We came here, basically, to make money. But it is very hard for us to integrate (融入) with local [people and culture] because the culture is inferior to (差太多) Taiwan's culture. Like

my kids... You would have a lot of discontent when you move from a place with 'higher culture (高文化)' to a place with 'lower culture (低文化),' seeing such discrepancy between the two places… When the economy here… reaches to some point, I will definitely choose to leave… to find the next world factory and world market. But I am not sure where that place will be. (he laughed in the end, but Lei, sitting next to her father, lightly hit him with her hand and looked a little upset but resigned)

Lei's father displays the common uncertainty of Taiwanese transmigrant families towards their future for the purpose of economic pursuit, and also the shared difficulty of transmigrants in cultural integration. The discrepancy of so-called "high" culture of their original society and so-called "low" culture of their host society is often the concern of Taiwanese transmigrants (Hu, 2006; Lin, 2006a; Wang, 2007; Huang, 2010). My research shows that, from their perspective, the spectrum of culture is defined by the degree of "civilization" in modern society. For my student participants, cultural difference also contains the range of fame of popular (entertainment and celebrity) culture. The cultural integration issue is one of the most significant concerns and problems that my research participants encountered, not only in the Mainland, but also in Taiwan, the place they are from. Meanwhile, the strong contrast between the voluntary nature of Lei's father's view on mobility and the reluctance and even rejection of such mobility by Lei reflects the vulnerability of my student participants as involuntary transmigrants, forced by their parents to move to the Mainland. Being involuntary transmigrants with such uncertain and ever-moving paths, my research participants, during their one to 15 years of dwelling in the Mainland, have transferred one to seven times from one school to another.

The rapidly growing economic power of China, as well as the increasing interactions between Mainland China and Taiwan, have stimulated the phenomenon of chain transmigration. Some of my research participants indicate that their families, particularly those that own their own businesses in the Mainland, are often not the only families moving to the Mainland in their extended family groups, compared to their counterparts who are employed. I had opportunities to participate in families' dinners and meetings during my fieldwork period, and observed how two generations of Taiwanese transmigrants used different language variations (type of language, language accent and tone, and language terms) in their conversations, and how they saw and discussed things from similar and/or different perspectives. They also revealed that the more family members in the Mainland, the longer families plan to live there, and the less likely they are to go back to Taiwan. One mother who has five other related families living in Shanghai explained, "Nowadays, I only go back to Taiwan to see my mother. If my mother passes away, I do not know how often or if I will return to Taiwan." Meanwhile, with the growing number of Taiwanese people living in the Mainland, the Taiwanese government has started to provide more public services, such as public health insurance, to serve its citizens[62]. Those public services provided by the Taiwan government to its overseas citizens reduces the frequency of their visits back to Taiwan on the one hand, yet maintains their relationships with Taiwan on the other hand.

In my interviews with students and their parents, their "documentation relationship" with Taiwan plays an important role in maintaining their connections with Taiwan, but for different

[62] With increasing numbers of Taiwanese people residing in the Mainland, to serve demand of its citizens and to attract and retain more Taiwanese businessmen respectively, both the Taiwan and Chinese governments have been negotiating and cooperating with each other with the aim to operate unofficial offices for the provision of citizen services to Taiwanese citizens. While still negotiating for details, some hospitals in the Mainland have been authorized by the Taiwan government and permitted by the Chinese government to accept the public health insurance of Taiwanese citizens.

affectional and pragmatic reasons. Legal documents, such as passports and "identification cards" (身分證), serve as a source not only for many of my research participants' legal status, but also for their Taiwanese identity. When some students actively defend their Taiwanese identity with the aim of resisting mainstream political ideology, some students use their passports and identification cards as a line of defense to deny others' "de-recognition" of their Taiwanese identity in their host society.

Some students who have a strong Taiwanese group identity spontaneously showed their R.O.C identification cards to me during interviews when I asked them if they had ever thought of their identity as a migrant. They told me that they also often do the same in Taiwan when their identities were questioned by people due to their Standard Mandarin "accent." Interestingly, some participants who may not strongly identify with the Taiwanese group also indicated that they are "Taiwanese, not Chinese," because they have R.O.C passports. Likewise, young transmigrants that have lived in the Mainland for longer periods feel that legal documents provide them with a thread that they can hold to connect themselves with their motherland. A male high school student studying in local schools since first grade year discussed his near "local" status.

> Even though I have been here for almost 11 years, and am almost a "local person,' but… if someone asks me whether I want to change my R.O.C passport to a P.R.C passport, my answer will be "*no*" (he used a stressed tone)… because that is the only thing that I have left to connect myself to Taiwan. Even If I don't have that passport… that may mean... I need to cut off… my relationship with Taiwan. The problem is… I cannot cut it off. I just cannot.

In contrast to young transmigrants who see their legal status as a "source" for their identity, many of their parents see legal documents as a "resource" for various citizen benefits. Aside from public services, rights and welfare that the Taiwan government offers, the inconvenience of using a P.R.C passport in going to many countries is another main reason that they indicate "no need" to obtain P.R.C. passports. On the one hand, transmigrant adults tend to analyze the pros and cons of being citizens of two "countries;" on the other hand, those legal documents seem not to relate their identities. Lei's father told me, "No matter what passport I have, I know I am a Taiwanese. I know where my home is. I have a Hong Kong passport as well, and it enables me to easily travel worldwide for my business. But I use my Taiwanese passport when I go back to Taiwan." When I asked him in what situations he would use different passports, he simply replied, "I am a businessman. I use what is convenient to me, and what is beneficial to me. That is it." Lei's father, like many of my student participants' parents, regards his economic and political exploitation in two societies as an advantage of being a transmigrant, and as Foner, Rumbaut and Gold (2000) argued, citizenship can be used by transmigrants for expediency that is not necessarily associated to their national identity. Meanwhile, this opportunist thinking can be gradually observed from the young generation, as well. Yun, who has had US-Taiwan dual citizenship since she was born in the US, also shared with me that she will take advantage of her "official" identity to take the college entrance exam for foreigners instead of the HMT exam, because the former is much easier than the latter. In general, for transmigrant families transmigration involves a cost-and-benefit calculation, and being transmigrant is a status by which they tend to obtain advantages from each society. Despite the nonexistence of dual citizenship of Chinese and Taiwanese in political reality, the Taiwanese transmigrants in this

study perform as *flexible citizens* (Ong, 1999) who seek to maximize their comprehensive benefits from different states.

Transmigration in the Eyes of Youth: Home, Motherland and Country

No matter whether my participants offered clear answers to my migration questions, their reflections clearly present the meanings of their movement to them as individuals across the border, and the variety in their perspectives indicate how constructed and rich transmigration reality in the China-Taiwan context is. Based on my observations and the comments provided by my participants, Taiwanese young transmigrants display a clear understanding about the border of "country" between China and Taiwan. Simultaneously, however, their cross-Strait experiences seem to blur their orientation of "home."

Many of my research participants refer to living and studying in the Mainland as "studying abroad." Interestingly, other participants also indicate that when going back to Taiwan they have the feeling of "going overseas for vacation." Even though young transmigrants similarly regard their travel and living between the Mainland and Taiwan as experiences of going abroad but in different directions, most refer Taiwan as their "homeland (故鄉)," the place they are from and that they have a special feeling for. Two examples below demonstrate their portrayal of Taiwan as country and homeland.

Yun, studying in the HMT class and living in Shanghai for four years, shared her experience of living in Mainland.

> I am an outsider, in *their* [local people's] eyes, and also from *my* own perspective… It is like going abroad… *study abroad*. Although we both speak Mandarin… *Taiwan and China*…It's

like *the US versus the UK*. For me… It is like an American going to the UK. Generally, you can communicate with them [people in the Mainland], but some words, tones, and the way of talking… and lifestyle… and maybe… the way you see things… and cultures are different, sometimes very different. (I asked, "Do you consider yourself as a migrant?") Migrant? I don't know. I also have a US passport, so I am supposed to be an American, too. (I said, "You think you are an American.")… But I would rather say I am a Taiwanese, because the US, for me, is just a passport. And being here… since I have the US and Taiwan passports, and I consider myself from Taiwan… So, *no*. I don't think I am a migrant… I just come here for overseas study. (I asked, "If people ask you, 'Where is your home,' how will you reply?") *Home*? Here, in Shanghai. We have our *house* here. My whole family is here.

Debbie, a high school student studying in the HMT class and living in Shanghai also for four years, also expressed her alienation from her fellow Taiwanese when returning home.

I did not go back to Taiwan in the first two years after I moved here, and when I went back for a summer vacation in the third year, I… kind of felt… weird. That was the place where I grew up and spent a lot of years, and everything was almost the same when I went back… but you felt something… you just felt something different. (I asked, "Was something different?") No… everything was almost the same, but it might be *me*… I may be changed. I felt different. I felt distant from what I saw in front of me, around me… They were the same, and also very familiar to me. But I knew I might not come back in the future, at least, not too often. I still felt that Taiwan is a great place, and I am also a Taiwanese, but… I know this will be my "*homeland (故鄉)*." We don't have any house in Taiwan anymore, and we stayed

with my grandparents or sometimes stayed in a hotel when we returned to Taiwan. So for me, going *back* to Taiwan now is like going *abroad*. (I asked, "Do you consider your coming here from Taiwan is some kind of 'migration?'")… Migration? *Yes*… (I asked for her further clarification) This is because my family may not go back to Taiwan in the future. We have our house here, and all family members here… and we even have a dog here. We are kind of… *rooting* here. (I further asked her, "Do you feel close to the local society or people?") No. (she shook her head and replied quickly) I don't feel close to this place. (I encouraged her for further explanation)… I feel… I can be in two places, but… I am not actually in two places… Do you know what I am saying? I don't feel that I truly belong to either of them. (I asked about where her home is.) My *home*? Here… Aren't you at my home now? I don't have a home in Taiwan; only my grandparents' home is there. My home is here, in Shanghai.

Yun and Debbie, two girls with similar transmigration trajectories, schooling paths, with all of their core families living in the Mainland, see their movement differently vis-a-vis the concept of migration. For Yun, being in the Mainland is to study abroad, but for Debbie, going back to Taiwan is to go overseas. From Yun's perspective, being an outsider in the host society is recognized by others and also perceived by herself, and like some of my other participants, she applies the case of the US and UK to the relationship between Taiwan and China when she identifies Taiwan as a nation-state. Young transmigrants tend to draw a "national" boundary to separate Taiwan and China, viewing Taiwan as their home country. Having the US legal documentation and her own identity with Taiwan provide Yun with a basis to uphold her argument for being a non-migrant in her host land where she and her family may stay for a long time. Compared to Yun, Debbie uses her future plans to distance herself from Taiwan, and

meanwhile, she cannot be engaged in local Shanghai society. The contradiction between Yun and Debbie regarding "being a migrant" depicts how they differently "perceive" their orientation, based on their legal documentation, group identity, psychological distance and substantive distance from either society. The examples of Yun and Debbie suggest that the psychological distance youths construct and the substantive distance they feel in their daily lives from two societies may not be able to reflect their perceptions of identity or their orientation to migration. In particular, Debbie's perception of "double distance" from two places, shared by many of my participants, lead to their loss of "physically being in two places, but psychologically being nowhere."

Different from the clear national boundary between China and Taiwan that Yun and Debbie have drawn, a few of my research participants have conceptions of migration that suggest a quite opposite perspective. They claim that since Taiwan is part of China, moving to the Mainland for them is an internal movement that does not involve the concept of migration in any way. David is a male 11th grader; his father is from Hong Kong and his mother is from Taiwan. He is studying in a local program, and has both a Hong Kong passport and Taiwan passport.

> Migration? *No*. (he replied without hesitation) I think… migration means that people go abroad… leave their "mother country (祖國)," but… Hong Kong, Taiwan and Shanghai are all the same, all [belong to] China. So I am not a migrant at all. I just moved from one place to another, from Taiwan to Hong Kong, and from Hong Kong to Shanghai… but still within China. (I asked him where his home is) Home? … My grandparents on father's side are in Hong Kong, mother's side are in Taiwan, and my parents and I are living in Shanghai now… home… If people ask me where my home is, I will say… my home is in China.

David is one of the few students among my participants who consider Taiwan to be part of China. He told me, "I am a half-Hongkonger and a half-Taiwanese. I am Chinese." In his eyes, since three places where he has lived and currently lives are located in the territories of China, there is no concern with migration at all. In terms of the concept of home, he uses a large term to accommodate all three places instead.

Similar to David, Meng is a female 11th grader in another local program; her father is from Taiwan, and her mother is a local Shanghainese. She was born in Taiwan, and moved to Shanghai when she was seven.

> I remember that in the beginning after we moved to Shanghai, I asked my parents, 'Why don't we go *home?* [Taiwan] This is not our place. I was not used to the school and other places here. My parents just told me, 'You don't understand,' they might think that I would get used to it then, and I did though. (laughing) (I asked, "So what do you think now?")… I don't feel this is [only] my mother's place, just like I don't think Taiwan is [only] my father's place either… (I asked her for further clarification)… Because they [Taiwan and Shanghai] are both my *places* even though my *home* is here now… Being honest, I am a little scared of going back to Taiwan lately, because I am not that familiar with that place even though I really like it. The only resource I mostly have about Taiwan is from TV… I often doubt that I am still regarded as a person from there. I used to say that I am a Taiwanese, but now, can I still say that I am a Taiwanese? (then I asked her about her orientation as a migrant) Migrant? I don't know what person I am now … So I don't know if I am a migrant. But… When I go

study abroad or migrate to another country someday, if people ask me where I am from, I may say Taiwan and Shanghai are both my "*motherlands (故鄉)*."

Meng expresses how living in Shanghai changed her original sense of belonging to one place to two places. In our following interview, she said that she preferred to identify herself as a Taiwanese instead of a Shanghainese or Chinese, because Taiwan was the place she was born and where she grew up, and she also has a Taiwan passport. In her case, the blurring boundary between places is not reflected in her group identity. Second, Meng shows her developing uncertainty of her group identity caused by her social distance from Taiwan that further influences her migrant orientation. Yet, when located in another context, Meng can clearly set up a group boundary. Meng's example presents how the sense of belonging to place and homeland can be built up and reshaped, particularly for those young transmigrants who share similar half-Mainland and half-Taiwan backgrounds with her. Furthermore, she also demonstrates that being a migrant can be validated or strengthened by a clear national boundary.

The concepts of "place (地方)," "home (家)," "homeland (故鄉)" are often mentioned or brought up in my interviews, particularly when we talked about movement and identification. To most young transmigrants, "place" with a general meaning can refer to a specific location or a rather abstract condition of their physical or mental being. "Home" mostly tends to be used to indicate their houses or families, and "homeland" implies where they were born and grew up. Meanwhile, aside from its literal meaning, "going back home (回家)" is often used by young transmigrants when they describe the place of their mental and affectional being.

Jordan, a male student in Mingdao who went to the Mainland with his divorced father at the age of four, after moving from Taiwan to Beijing for nine years, then to Shanghai for five years, shared his reflection on this movement—

Me: Are you going back to Beijing?

Jordan: I went back there in the last few years, but I had no feeling of "*going back home*" when I went back… Now I feel that every place is the same.

Me: What do you mean by "the same"?

(Jordan shrugged his shoulders and looked at the window behind me.)

Me: If I ask you where your home is…?

Jordan: I will say [my *home* is in] Shanghai… But I don't know where "*my home in my heart (我心裡的家)*" is. It felt so familiar when I went back to the apartment complex where I used to live, but… actually, I left already. I don't know where I will be in the future. All is uncertain.

Me: Hmm… future. What do you want to do in the future?

Jordan: (smiling bitterly and sarcastically) Future? I don't even know if things will be changed next year, and, besides, future? (he shrugged his shoulders again)

Me: How about Taiwan? Do you even think of going back to Taiwan in the future?

Jordan: Taiwan? I… don't know. My mom and my older sister have been living there, but I haven't gone back there since I left there at the age of five. I may… may… go visit them someday. My older sister has kept in touch with me. She calls me… once a month… maybe. She always told me to go visit her, and told me what she will bring me to in Taiwan.

Me: Hmm… So what does Taiwan mean to you?

Jordan: Taiwan… is the place where the home of my mom and my older sister is.

"Going back home" for Jordan indicates a mental attribution. Even though he may have strong affection for the place in Beijing where he grew up, he did not feel that he was at home there "in heart." Like Jordan, many of my research participants who had moved numerous times similarly share their feeling of being unattached to any place. Young transmigrants have a strong feeling of being lost or uprooted in the context of such tremendous change and uncertainty, and either pessimistically have no long-term plans for the future, or on the contrary, seem quite optimistic about their futures, as if their supporting resources are sufficient and accessible.

Ya, a female 12th grader with parents coming from Taiwan and in the possession of both Canadian and Taiwan passports, studied in a local program and shared her dream for the future. Ya told me that she wanted to work in the UN in the future, and I asked, "If people there ask you where you are from, what will you tell them?

It depends. If I get in there with my Canadian passport, I will say I am from Canada. I can also say that I was born in Taiwan, and I had lived in China. I think… what legal document I get into that place with, they may consider me as a person coming from that place. So I will just accept it. I remember that I even wrote an article about "hometown/homeland (故鄉)." But I wrote that I did not know where my *homeland* is. Even though I was born in Taiwan, and had lived there for seven years, I did not have any "sense of belonging (歸屬感)" when I went back to visit. I went back to Canada in 2005, as well. I had lived there too, but I wouldn't say I am a person [belonging] there… the same situation here, too. I do not have a feeling of

homeland here. I do not think China, Canada or Taiwan, any of them, is my country. Where my *heart* is, where my … I don't know. It is abstract… Even though I have a nationality (國籍), I grew up in different places, and I have friends here and there, it is hard for me to say that I love this place, or that place. Likewise, I do not feel that I loathe this place or that place, like many people do. I just don't think this way, and I don't feel this way. They are so different from one another, and…for me, they… are the same in some ways. I am a person who wants to work in an international environment, so I don't think it is important to me to fix myself to one place.

Similar to Jordan, Ya, with a transnational history of frequent mobility, does not show her strong sense of belonging to one fixed place, nor her identity with one country. They both express nowhere as their "homes in heart." Yet Ya tends to go beyond the boundary between countries and stay away from national identity positioning to situate her international standing. Ya's *distanciated identity* (Tomlinson, 1999) shaped by her argument of the differences and similarities of the three countries embodies and reflects the concept of cosmopolitanism accommodating global similarity and also local particularities.

In my interviews when students were sharing their experiences of moving with me, some explicitly mentioned the growing phenomenon of transmigration between China and Taiwan in recent decades. Mei talked about her reflections on the cross-Strait movement as being something she could not reverse.

You can say we are (trans)migrants in a broad sense since we do cross the border, cross the Taiwan Strait, to come here even though we are still the citizens of R.O.C. This is a "road of no return (不歸路)." When you step onto it, there is no return. (I asked for clarification) This

is because you are going to change, no matter what, you can stay home, live in a bubble, like many of our students [in Taishang], but you will change, in many ways, and sometimes, you may not notice [your changes] on your own. You see things differently, think of people differently, and think of China and Taiwan differently… some for good, and some for bad. Anyway, you will change. You will be no longer who you were before. And, you will keep changing… (then she answered my question about how her peers may see the cross-Strait movement) However, even though we [students in Taishang] all come from Taiwan, and may realize how Taiwan is marginalized by China on the world map here, but not many people [students in Taishang] really care. This is because Taiwanese people have been a short-sighted nation (短視的民族) in history, and also been governed and repressed by other authorities for hundreds of years. So Taiwanese people, in history, have kept moving as migrants, and do not care about their homeland.

Mei points out the "changes" in the nature of migrants— not only the change of their locality, but also the transformation of their mentality. When talking about the views of her transmigrant cohorts toward cross-Strait movement, she points out the history of Taiwan Island as a place accommodating numerous migrants coming in and moving out in its long history, and attributes her cohorts' indifference towards the marginalized position in the world to the nature of migrants. Indeed, most of my adolescent research participants do not examine or are not capable of analyzing the phenomenon from a larger perspective, but tend to look at it from their own perspectives of individual loss and gain. Their families, in turn, mostly analyze the cross-Strait migration from an economic perspective for obtaining the best return from their movement, and tend to stay away from political involvement.

Production and Reproduction of Capital

"It is good to study in the local school first and then Taishang now. This is because I can meet more local friends through my current local friends. I can also know more Taiwanese friends and foreigners through the networks of my friends in Taishang, because many of students here went to international schools and other schools in Taiwan."

A 12th-grade female student in Taishang

"I have learned a lot since I moved to the Mainland because I may not understand the feeling of being excluded if I did not come here. It's a feeling of 'social' [her original word, spoken in English]. We have learned some knowledge in school, but the most important thing I have learned here, in school, is how to deal with friendship, and your relationship with others."

A 12th-grade female student in a local school

Rapid economic growth in China attracts hundreds of thousands of Taiwanese to move to the Mainland, creating a large mobile population. Based on pragmatic concerns, the primary purpose of Taiwanese families moving to the Mainland (and their consequent moving trajectories) is to obtain economic benefit. Their transmigration links cross-Strait societies and establishes interaction of trade, culture, politics, and people. Located within these interlinking China-Taiwan relationships, Taiwanese transmigrant families further obtain other benefits beyond economic profit. The benefits of social capital, cultural capital and educational capital all emerged from my field observations and my interviews as intentional outcomes transmigrant families hoped to create and accumulate through their transmigration. In particular, through schooling in Mainland China, transmigrant parents expect their children to gain social and cultural capitals to further

additional economic capital. The dynamic relationship of these capitals is articulated in this section.

Economic capital refers to monetary profits transmigrants gain through business, employment and investment. Reflected in Bourdieu's concept of social capital (1986) that substantive or potential resources can be accumulated through an individual's social relationships with others and a large social network, social capital, in this study, indicates those visible and invisible resources, such as useful schooling information and friendship, that young transmigrants obtain through their daily interactions and connections with others, mainly with their peers in schools, and even through their cross-Strait friendship networks. Cultural capital, standing for cultural resources that represent an individual's socio-economic status (Bourdieu, 1986), in this study includes three major components. The first is an individuals' character traits and sense of self-expression, such as taste, manner, and life style. The second component involves an individual's access to and engagement with cultural artifacts and goods, such as books and music. The third is cultural capability and understanding that individuals develop, such as cultural knowledge youth absorb, language they acquire and socio-cultural norms they learn, both inside and outside school, in Taiwan and also in the Mainland. Similar to the concept of academic capital (Bourdieu, 1984), educational capital in this study stands for academic knowledge transmigrant youths learn and accumulate within various types of school, and their substantive academic outcomes reflected in their high school or college entrance examinations.

Weekends of Dandan, Sam, Connie, and Lin

Dandan's local integrated life.

Dandan is a female student studying in the 8th grade at Mingdao. Her parents went to the Mainland for her father's business in the early 1990s when China just opened its market to the outside world. Dandan's mother went back to Taiwan when she gave birth to Dandan, and brought her back to the Mainland a few months later. Dandan has a sister who is two years younger, who also studies in Mingdao. Dandan's father owns his medium-sized printing company, and his mother opened a hobby goods shop in the past but now is a temporary housewife, looking for her next business opportunity. Dandan and her family live in an average, slightly old apartment in a local complex located in the southwestern suburb of Shanghai city. On an early Friday afternoon, I took a school bus with Dandan and her younger sister for my family visitation. We chatted on the bus about their observations on the huge changes in Shanghai these past years and their growing experiences here. Her mother took a cab to the bus stop from her house to pick us up. We took another ten-minute cab ride back to their neighborhood and got out in front of a market nearby a grocery shop.

That was a local semi-indoor afternoon market, surrounded by several local communities. We followed her mother to some peddlers to buy vegetables, fish, and fruit. Dandan's mother spoke Mandarin with a little Taiwanese accent to bargain with vendors, and often received better deals. She seemed to know the vendors, since they always chatted a bit during the shopping process, and Dandan's mother sometimes would ask her and her younger sister to greet the *ayi* (阿姨) and *shushu* (叔叔)[63] if they did not. In the middle of our grocery shopping, Dandan's mother asked her to go buy eggs in a small egg stall on another side of the market. I went with

[63] *Ayi* (阿姨) and *shushu* (叔叔) are titles used to address the acquaintances or strangers older than speakers, female and male, respectively.

her and was surprised to hear Dandan use fluent Shanghai dialect to bargain the price of eggs with a local female vendor in her forties. When we walked back to her mother, her mother and younger sister already had several plastic bags in hand. Before we headed back to their apartment, her mother asked us if we want to have *zhagao* (fried cake, 炸糕),[64] and the two girls looked very happy and kept nodding their heads. We walked to a very tiny old stall, and then Dandan's mother uttered some simple words in Shanghai dialect to get four fried cakes, one for each of us. We walked slowly, eating our fried cakes, and passed many local community residents walking in and out the market and riding bicycles hung with large and small plastic bags ringing their bells. On the way back to their apartment, we stopped twice since Dandan's mother stopped to chat with some acquaintances.

After arriving in their apartment on the 4th-floor in a sixth-floor apartment with only two small bedrooms and a fairly tiny kitchen, Dandan's mother asked Dandan and her sister to do "what you need to do" since their math tutor is coming soon. Before the tutor came, Dandan and her younger sister showed me the small bedroom they shared together. I noticed that their two bookshelves were full of books written in simplified and traditional characters. She told me that books were very important items they would bring back from Taiwan, since her mother considered that they could learn more traditional Taiwanese and even Chinese cultures from books published in Taiwan. Through the window of their bedroom I could see a large area full of old apartments outside with some open space. Dandan said her mother told her that new apartment complexes would be built up in the space, and more old apartments nearby would be torn down. Their tutor is a female graduate student of a well-known university in her early

[64] *Zhagao* (fried cake, 炸糕) is a local dessert in Shanghai, a round-shaped and deep-fried snack.

twenties. When they separately had 50-minute tutorials, Dandan's mother cooked dinner for us and chatted with me. I asked Dandan's mother the reason she chose this apartment complex to live in. She stopped her cooking, turned to look at me, smiled and replied, "We are definitely capable of living in a big luxury apartment, like many Taiwanese people here, but 'how can you catch tiger cubs without entering the tiger's lair?' (不入虎穴，焉得虎子)"

Dandan's father worked late, so he did not join us for dinner, but talked to me over the phone when he called Dandan's mother to welcome me and also apologized for his absence because of an emergency business order that he needed to deal with. Dandan's mother asked their tutor to stay and have dinner with us. She made two Taiwanese dishes on her own, and also served up two cooked side dishes she bought in the market. Aside from Dandan's and her sister's study situation, Dandan's mother asked their tutor about her school life and her mother's sickness. Their tutor also shared with us her concerns about her up-coming graduation and future employment opportunities. After dinner, Dandan's mother called her parents in Taiwan and talked to them in Taiwanese dialect while we watched local TV news and then a Taiwanese TV program. Dandan and her sister were requested to chat with their grandparents, making greetings in simple Taiwanese dialect and answering their grandparents' questions mainly in Mandarin. After a little more chatting with her family, I walked to the bus stop with the math tutor, and we talked about her interactions with Dandan's family.

Dandan's family is rooted in the local community and society through the children's school, learning local lifestyles and language, and choosing a particular residence location. Dandan's parents knew they may not move back to Taiwan since they went to the Mainland in the early 1990s, as they "saw the huge development potential of China." Dandan and her sister were sent to Mingdao mainly because of its "better quality of Chinese education, and more international

perspective of school." Dandan's mother told me, "The only way for them to learn to think like a native and make true local friends is to study in a local school." She emphasized, "If you don't know how and what local people think, how could you compete with them and survive here, and even make more money than them? We need to take advantage as much as we can as outsiders and also insiders. You see clearly the strength and weakness of this society and its people when you really engage in and live with it." She also uses the classic story of "Mencius's Mother Moving Three Times (孟母三遷)" as an example to explain why she thought the living environment is very crucial to children, to learn to be an insider. Aside from schooling and surroundings, Dandan's mother points out that having local tutors is beneficial to her two girls, not only as a formal learning opportunity, but also as a source of local information and cultural knowledge. Additionally, to take double advantage from both societies and also make connections with their distant families in Taiwan, aside from schooling in Mingdao, Dandan and her sister are sent back to Taiwan every year to live with their grandparents. They also attend English and other extracurricular classes. As she pointed out, this is so "they can know what people in Taiwan think and how they live, and the Taiwan society itself, as well. Taiwan and the Mainland will be integrated as a large economic sphere, so it is very important for them at this young age to proactively take the preemptive opportunity."

Sam's semi-international and semi-integrated life.

Sam is a 10th-grade student in the international class in Mingdao, and has been living in Shanghai for two years. He is a tall boy who likes painting, designing, music, and playing computer games, and was elected as the class leader by his classmates because "he is cool." Sam's dad works for an international advertising enterprise in Shanghai, and his mother was an

accountant before their family moved to Shanghai. Now, she is a full-time housewife. Sam also has a younger brother in the 5th grade studying at Mingdao. Sam lived in a two-floor single house in one of the most well-known "international" communities located in Western Shanghai City with his family, and has his own room with many musical instruments and a nice computer. I went to his house on an early Sunday afternoon. When I chatted with Sam's mother, Sam just came back from his painting class in downtown Shanghai. After showing me his room and chatting with us for half an hour, he received a phone call and talked to his caller half in Mandarin and half in English. Then he told his mother that he was going out with his friends living nearby to play basketball at a community basketball court. Sam's mother told me that she'd only met some of Sam's friends, and Sam has friends coming from local Shanghai and also different countries, mostly Korea, and he met those friends in different places, such as school, basketball courts, the painting class, friends' birthday parties, and even on the internet. Interestingly, Sam does not have many Taiwanese friends in Shanghai.

After Sam's mother showed me her family photos and Sam's photos from a study abroad summer program in Canada, we went out to grocery shop. When we walked to a Japanese supermarket nearby, she told me she sometimes went to a local market, but only "a rather clean one" for fresh fruit. Sam's mother was quite satisfied with the good quality of their community and neighborhood because of the security of their community management and also the accessibility of various international and local life resources in their neighborhood. After we returned back to her house, Sam's father had just brought Sam's younger brother back from his violin class. We chatted and waited for Sam to go out for dinner. We went to a four-floor Taiwanese restaurant, driving 20 minutes, even though Sam wanted to go to an Italian restaurant in their neighborhood. Sam told me that it was one of his parents' favorite restaurants even

though he did not like it, because they "always ran into his parents' friends and that was annoying." Sam and his brother did not eat much, and his brother started playing handheld video games after he finished his dinner. Sam's parents tried to bring him into our conversation during the dinner, but he looked a little bored.

On the way back to their house, Sam's mother asked him and his brother if they needed or wanted anything for their school stay for next week, so we stopped at a Japanese and Korean bakery to buy some bread. After returning to their house, Sam's mother asked the two boys to pack their luggage for the next school week. Approximately 30 minutes later, their father drove all of us to the assembly place for the school bus pick-up back to Mingdao. When we arrived there, many parents and their children from elementary to high school ages were already waiting, and mostly younger children stood closer to their parents while older ones clustered together with their peers. Sam looked indifferent when his brother seemed a little sad and upset. After Sam's mother told Sam to call them every day, Sam went to talk to his friend, a male Chinese student who was talking to his mother. Sam's younger brother stayed with his mother until the big school bus came, even though his mother encouraged him to talk to his classmates standing nearby. I was talking with Sam and his classmate who were discussing video games with each other. It took us almost 40 minutes to get back to Mingdao. Sam sat with his classmate, and they were quiet on the bus. Most of time Sam looked out of the window while Sam's brother talked with his friends. After getting off the school bus, Sam directly walked towards his dorm with his luggage. His classmate caught up with him, and they talked on the way back to their dorm building. Meanwhile, his brother dragged his luggage with a few friends who started to chase each other until a teacher scolded them.

Considering his cross-group-boundary life in Shanghai, Sam's weekend life suggests how living in Shanghai provides some Taiwanese transmigrant youth with opportunities to build up their local and also international social networks. Sam's mother told me that their house is located in a good place with "a good distance" from local people and also international counterparts.

> We maintain nice relations with all groups here, local people, foreign neighbors, and also Taiwanese peers. So we don't feel marginalized by local people, but feel a little privileged instead. Local people who live in this community are either "Haigui (overseas returnees, 海歸)" or Chinese Americans. They are different from local people. We don't feel inferior to foreigners, such as Americans or Europeans either, since we live in the same community. Also, we don't need to get involved with Taiwanese communities with lots of gossip, but meet them on some social occasions. So we can keep all social resources available. And Sam and his brother can make friends with their kids, too. We [she and her husband] choose where we live and where they go to study based on the same rationale and consideration.

Sam's mom clearly pointed out the triple advantage they want to gain from their lives in the host society. Sam, in our individual interviews, shared with me some American and Korean music he had been listening to, and told me the songs were introduced to him by his friends. He told me that he planned to go to Korea with one of his Korean friends during the coming summer when his Korean friends' family went back for vacation. His Chinese classmates in the international class also told me that Sam was elected as the leader of class, because "he seems to know a lot and has a lot of friends." Sam said that he will go to Canada or the US for his college

education, and may stay there or come back to China or even Taiwan to work after his graduation. “Oh, maybe Korea, too,” added Sam. Aside from the rational assumption of economic return, Sam’s example represents how cultural and social capital can be both produced in and through families and also reproduced within a social class group in schools or communities. Furthermore, his experiences illustrate how cultural capital can be transformed to social capital, and vice versa through people’s social interactions in a society.

Connie’s segregated life.

Connie, a 12th-grade female student in Taishang, moved to Kunshang in 2004 with her parents and her younger sister who studies in an internationalized local school in Kunshang. Her older brother is a college student studying in Taiwan, living alone in their family apartment. Connie’s father works for a Taiwanese machinery company as a high-ranking manager in charge of a factory in Kunshang, and his mother is a full-time housewife. While she spent much time in the Mainland taking care of the family, Connie’s mother also travels back to Taiwan often to care for Connie’s grandparents and watch over Connie’s brother. Connie and her family live in a medium-sized community with over 20 buildings surrounded by a fence with a group of community guards at the front gate and rear entrance. On a Friday afternoon, I took the school bus with Connie to her neighborhood, and walked approximately ten minutes back to her apartment. On the way back to her home, we passed by busy local streets full of stores and restaurants, but Connie did not look at them, and just tended to hurry back home. She told me that she never buys any items in any stores or eats at any restaurants on this street since “they look disgusting.” Before we entered her apartment building, Connie greeted a woman with two boys in the lobby. She told me that most residents in her apartment building are Taiwanese, and

her mother was particularly close to some of the mothers in the same community since they usually participated in activities arranged by and for Taiwanese businessmen's wives, and some of Tze Chi's events. When we waited for the elevator, Connie told me how excited and happy she was about my visit since I was her first friend to visit her home. She said, "We all live apart away from each other. It is so hard to have friends come over."

Connie's family apartment has one large and two medium-size bedrooms, located on th[e] sixth floor of the 12-floor building. After she showed me around, she invited me to watch a Taiwan TV drama with her, and the TV was set to Taiwan TV news when she turned it on. Connie told me that her father watched local China TV news and Taiwan TV news every night, but she was interested in neither of them. A few minutes after we started the drama, Connie told me that I could eat whatever snacks were in the kitchen pantry. I was surprised to see that all of these snacks were from Taiwan, and Connie told me that even the soy sauce their family used was from Taiwan. They paid a lot of money for overweight luggage every time when they came back to the Mainland from Taiwan. When I asked her as a joke if all of the items in her apartment were from Taiwan, she thought a second, and ran into the restroom to bring out a box of tissue to show me, saying, "We ran out of the toilet paper from Taiwan, so my mother went to a local supermarket to buy this. I need to remind my mom to bring some soft toilet paper back this time when she comes back." Even the toilet paper was viewed as inferior to that in Taiwan.

Since Connie's mother went back to Taiwan for a family emergency, Connie's father took Connie, her sister, and me out for dinner. He drove us to a Korean restaurant which Connie chose since she liked Korean culture and food, and did not like to eat at a local restaurant even though Connie's father wanted to let me try some local dishes. During dinner, Connie's father shared his observations on China-Taiwan economic interactions, his positive attitudes towards China's

economic growth, and his frustration about his family's separation in two places. He told me how he hoped that Connie could stay in the Mainland for college, not for their family, but for her future. "China is in the world market, and I don't understand why she insists on going back to Taiwan," said her father. Her father said that it was too late to bring Connie's older brother to the Mainland for college when they decided to move there, and Connie resisted studying in a local school. He also told me that they decided to put her younger sister in an internationalized local school charging very high tuition, because "she can learn English, meet local Chinese students, know her future competitors, and also make friends with them."

After dinner, Connie asked her father to stop by a Taiwanese sweet soup shop located on a so-called "Taiwan street" full of Taiwanese restaurants. While we waited in line, I heard people around us speaking Taiwanese Mandarin or Taiwanese dialect to each other that made me have the feeling of being in Taiwan for a moment. Connie realized my surprise, laughed and said, "You don't feel like you are in the Mainland, do you?"

The next Saturday morning, Connie's father needed to work, so he left home before we got up. I asked Connie to maintain her daily routine, so she brought her younger sister and me to a Starbucks coffee shop in their neighborhood. Connie told me that going to Starbucks was "the most important and anticipated thing" for her during a week. She complained about her father who was reluctant to bring them there because of the high prices. Connie drank a large cup of iced Frappuccino and said, "But I can imagine that I am not in the Mainland when I am here, so sometimes I cry and even beg my dad to let me come here."

Lin's isolated life.

Lin, a 12th-grade male student in Taishang, moved to Mainland five years earlier with his parents. He studied in a local middle school in Kunshang City for a short period of time, and transferred to Taishang since he fought with students and even damaged school property. Lin's older sister is in Australia studying at a small college. Lin lives alone in his family's apartment in Suzhou City. He and his family moved to Suzhou two years before from Kunshang for his parents' jobs, but his father got promoted and transferred to another Taiwanese factory as a vice factory manager, and a few months later, his mother found a better job in a Taiwanese company in a nearby city. Afterwards, Lin and his parents lived separately in three cities in Jiangsu Province, an approximately two-hour drive from one another. In Taishang School, Lin was regarded as one of the most misbehaved students. He often slept in class, did not do homework assignments, did not have many friends in school, provoked teachers with sarcastic or rude comments, and smoked cigarettes with school guards who were local Chinese.

I went to his family's apartment with Connie, one of his classmates, on a Sunday morning after I had my stay-over in Connie's house. It took us more than two and a half hours to arrive at Lin's neighborhood, and we met Lin in a shopping mall. Lin was very excited by our visit, and talked all the time in a rare, energetic voice. He showed us around his newly developed neighborhood composed of several very modern apartment complexes with a small but renovated creek passing by, a small-sized shopping mall that still smelled of new paint, and several small local, Taiwanese and western restaurants. Not many people walked on the street, nor in the mall. Lin insisted on bringing us to a western restaurant to try its steak, and we were the only customers at that restaurant during lunchtime. We went to Lin's apartment afterwards. He lived on the 12th floor of a 16-floor modern apartment with fancy elevators. Connie and I needed to

register as visitors before we went up to Lin's home. Lin told us he did not know any of his neighbors, so he had no idea what their backgrounds were. I was very surprised to see how different Lin's apartment looked like from the outside and the inside when I walked in. I saw two leather couches, a TV, a side table, and a Majiang[65] table (the biggest piece of furniture) in a very large but rather empty living room. Lin excitedly introduced his home to us, and I could see Connie's face full of unhidden surprise. We complimented him on how big his apartment was. There was only one desk with nothing but a computer, one chair and one bed in Lin's room. More surprisingly, Lin's bed did not have a bed sheet. We saw an unfolded thin blanket on the top of the bare mattress and a box spring. Lin took out a t-shirt from his empty closet and proudly showed us a special Coca Cola logo on it. He told us how difficult it was for him to get this t-shirt from Taiwan. After showing us around, he brought us to the kitchen and wanted to cook some fish filets for us. Even though we were full from lunch, he insisted on doing so. After he opened the fridge, I saw only two pieces of fish in there, alone.

Connie and I left Lin's apartment in the late evening to catch a bus, and Lin walked us to the bus stop. We did not talk much, and Lin told us that we were his first two friends visiting his apartment. Lin has a few more local friends outside school other than Taiwanese friends in Taishang whom he met on the internet. Most of his local friends were not students, and he went to another nearby city to hang out with them during weekends sometimes. On the bus when we headed back Kunshang, Connie told me, "I thought Lin was a bad boy, so I did not talk to him often. I almost said 'no' when you invited me to come with you. I did not know what his life is like..." Connie stopped before she completed her last sentence. Afterwards, we did not talk much, both lost in our own thoughts.

[65] Majiang is a popular game in China, especially in Southern and Eastern China.

"If they are migrants, they are like those migrants living in China town. They do not integrate (融入) with local people and culture, have no contact with the middle class, but also housemaids and their families' drivers. They may try to stay as Taiwanese, but no one here cares about them. When they go back to Taiwan, they may be seen as Mainlanders. I don't know how they should or could position themselves, and if they could fully merge into the Taiwan society too."
A female teacher in Taishang

This female teacher in Taishang pointed out the dilemma most students in Taishang face living in a cross-Strait context, like Connie trying to separate her life from the outside reality and Lin's suffering from being excluded by his Taiwanese cohorts in the Mainland. When a large portion of Taishang students' families are involved in Taiwanese community activities and have social support from Taiwanese groups, some Taiwanese youth, like Lin, exhibit a lack of social and cultural capital because of insufficient family support and community involvement. Their social networks and cultural capital are both limited by their being excluded or marginalized in school and in society, and also constrained by their immobility. Like Lin's situation, having no substantive, stable, or long-term relations with either society is a common concern that Taishang students and their parents share. The demand for social support and strong social ties in the Taiwanese group is obviously very high. When Taiwanese businessmen/women and their spouses build up their in-group social networks through business and community activities, Taishang offers a place for young transmigrants to create their social connections with their Taiwanese cohorts. "At least, Taishang School provides students with a place that fits their own

comfort zone, in such an unfriendly and uncomfortable large environment," said another teacher in Taishang when she talked about how lonely students are.

Weighing the disadvantages and advantages for students in Taishang, some teachers, parents, and students consider Taishang to be located in a good position between local Chinese schools and international programs or schools, because students can "take the offensive or defensive as they choose (進可攻，退可守)." In other words, they can either take the HMT college entrance exam to go to a local Chinese college, or take the college entrance exam in Taiwan. Yet, compared to Taiwanese students in other schools on the Mainland, students in Taishang have fewer social networks in the Mainland than either local students or international youth. Similarly, they have fewer local cultural and social resources and insider knowledge than their counterparts in the Mainland and in Taiwan. Still, compared to counterparts who only have studying and living experiences in one place, Taishang students have the advantage of knowing two societies.

The four cases of Dandan, Sam, Connie, and Lin reflect how young Taiwanese transmigrants' cultural and social capitals can be differently produced and reproduced through the integration of family, school, community, and cross-Strait societies, and in particular, how the educational capital they obtain from schooling along with social and cultural capital that they accumulate may come together to create further economic opportunities and advantages. While social inequality resulting from these converted, accumulated, and distributed capitals is often a main concern of scholars (Ballentine & Spade, 2008; Bourdieu & Passeron, 2000; Lareau, 1989; Levinson, 2001), Taiwanese transmigrants emphasize how more and diverse capital returns can be produced through reproduction in the broad cross-Strait social and educational ecology.

The discussion above and those in the previous two chapters show clearly that most parents of young Taiwanese transmigrants pay special attention to their children's education. Some

parents perceive that the host society provides them and their children various resources, including educational resources and schooling options, by which they can take advantage of and have a new start in their new place. Yet some parents complain about the insufficiency of educational supplies and schooling options. They also feel dissatisfied that their children are constrained in an unfriendly educational environment with many strict regulations and unspoken rules. Regardless of parents' comments on educational provision in the Mainland, they choose what they consider the best schools for their children and have high expectations for a positive return on their educational investments.

Transmigrant parents make school choices for their children based on various considerations. First, those parents who choose local schooling believe that studying in local schools provide their children with opportunities to build up their academic capabilities and competitiveness as local Chinese students, to establish their local social networks by making friends with Chinese peers, and to learn local dialects and how to understand the thinking of local people that they argue will be helpful to future career development of their children in the Mainland. Likewise, the second group of parents who have their children attending the HMT class share similar concerns and expectations. Regardless of their original plans, all youths in the HMT class are supposed to stay in the Mainland for college. They are expected to be more capable to compete and also cooperate with their young counterparts in the Mainland by learning the same subjects as local Chinese students in colleges, and meeting people coming from different places in the Mainland at these colleges. Third, those parents sending their children to the international classes see international classes as a springboard for their children to study abroad. Their children are expected to meet people from different countries and cultures, learn foreign languages, mainly English, and have more cross-cultural knowledge and "global views." Those parents believe all

these resources will build up their children's international competitiveness and benefit their future employment on a global scale. Fourth, Taiwanese transmigrant youth located in Taishang are assumed to go back to Taiwan for college, and many of their parents are either uncertain of their employment stability in the Mainland or have plans to return to Taiwan. Those parents argue that Taishang School offers a parallel education to their children that is beneficial to their smooth transition after they return to Taiwan, and also to the maintenance of their children's connections with Taiwan while in the Mainland. They further explain that the Taiwanese peers their children meet in Taishang will form the basis of social resources across the Strait for their career development. For some parents whose children are transferred from local Chinese schools to the Taishang School owing to too much political and cultural conflict, those social and cultural capitals reproduced in Taishang mainly serve as a comfort for "politically wounded" young people.

In general, the parents of Taiwanese transmigrant youth expect that their children can attain abundant economic returns by having a good career in the Mainland, Taiwan, or worldwide through social, cultural, and educational capitals they accumulate inside and outside the schools. In particular, transmigrant youth, with their economic capabilities and acquired cultural capital, are sent to schools with students who may or may not share their corresponding social norms, in order to build up social capitals and strengthen equivalent cultural capitals or gain new cultural benefits, for ultimate economic capital return (Figure 6-1).

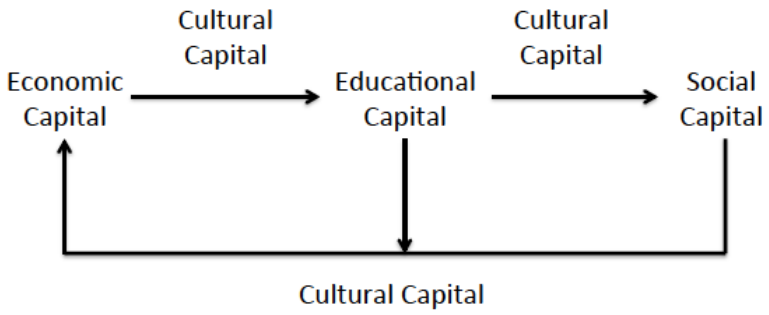


Figure 6-1 Creation, Accumulation, and Transformation of Capital

Aside from the dynamics between these various capitals, my fieldwork shows that societal and cultural differences play an important role in shaping the intentions and further capabilities of young transmigrants so that they may produce social and cultural capitals. Many of my research participants have clear perceptions of societal and cultural differences between Taiwan and China, and even societal and cultural discrepancies. Influenced by the worldwide and media-driven influence of cultural hegemony, I notice that most of my research participants rank cultures which they have opportunities to encounter, or at least imagine. In their eyes, societal and cultural developments are concordant, and "high culture" and "low culture" are at the two ends of their cultural status spectrum they must negotiate. They are mostly inclined to want to learn and consume higher cultures and disdain lower cultures. I often had opportunities to meet other Taiwanese students through my research participants to learn more about their life stories and recruit more participants. One day, when I accompanied Connie to meet her friend, Debbie, who became my research participant, Connie told me about her school transfer experiences that reflect her thoughts of societal and cultural discrepancy.

> Hsiang-ning, do you know I actually don't like Taishang. (I: Really?) Hmm. I don't like some students in Taishang. They are very "low" (her original wording, spoken in English). (I

asked, “What do you mean?”) They… don’t have class (沒水準). I like those friends I met in the local school which I went to before… even though I had been there just for three months. But they were so “cool” (her original wording, spoken in English with the exaggerating tone (I said, “They are so cool. In what way?”) I don’t know… They could speak Korean, a language I didn’t understand, and they all had luxury cellphones, and wore fashionable clothing. I just wanted to make friends with them, and I did have some Korean friends, but they all went back to Korea then. They are just so cool! I told my mom that I will want to go study abroad in Korea if I cannot go the US. The US is *better*, but Korea is *good*, *too*. I went to LA and San Francisco with my family a few years ago, and I loved it there! People were so nice and they look so pretty and handsome. Not like here… (she used her eyes to beckon me to see a man on the street who was spitting, a prevalent habit of China shunned in Taiwan) Sometimes I just want to scream! (she suddenly raised up her voice and rolled her eyes) You know, one day, I noticed that I said, “Fuwuyuan (waitress, 服務員)”[66] to a waitress at a restaurant and I told myself, “Oh, My god, I’ve “come *down*” in their world. (我‘淪落’成跟他們一樣了)/ [I’ve become one of them]” (I asked, “If you like your friends in that local school, why did you transfer to Taishang?”) (she laughed bitterly) Because that school just newly built up with their so-called “international class,” but it was not good, and all of my Korean friends in that school either transferred to other better international schools or moved back to Korea, and my dad said that “real” international schools charged too much tuition, which we could not afford. So I transferred to Taishang then. You know, “Half a loaf is better than no bread (沒魚蝦也好)” (spoken in a broken Taiwanese dialect)

[66] In China, people call a waitress or waiter “Fuwuyuan (服務員)” and in Taiwan people usually call them a more polite “*xiaojie* (Ma’am, 小姐)” or “*xiansheng* (Sir, 先生).”

Tim, the Taiwanese college boy residing in Shanghai for 15 years, told me what he thought of the interactions between Taiwanese people with local people.

> I have witnessed the huge and rapid growth of China, in economy and its society. But… the quality of people is still… behind. For me, as a Taiwanese living here for 15 years, of course, I would definitely say it will be great if Taiwanese people can have more interactions with them, the local people. If we don't know them… don't understand them, we will be surpassed very soon. But… based on my experiences and observations of many of my Taiwanese friends here, it is difficult. It is like…. When you stand on the high ground, you wouldn't like to go down, from a *higher* place… or even you are not able to go *down* in the end… because you don't know their… culture. My dad always told me to make friends with those local students who were like us, even those kids of government officials. So we can have local "*guanxi* (relationship, 關係)"[67] which will be useful and beneficial to my future.

To most of my research participants, western culture and Japanese culture are located on the side of high culture. Korean culture has its exotic attraction, and my participants also recognize and even feel envy at the steadily growing economy and societal development of South Korea. When this so-called "high culture" draws their interest and admiration, local Chinese culture and societal phenomena that they encounter in their daily lives, on the contrary, are generally unbearable to them. They perceive societal and cultural discrepancy in their cross-Strait

[67] "Guanxi (關係)" denotes interpersonal relationships, and usually indicates the particular ties between people which are built up based on kinship, native place, ethnicity, shared experiences, or achieved characteristics (Gold et al., 2002). In the Chinese context, it can also refer to connections with the government officials.

experiences and also through social interactions with local people, as well as different countries, in their daily lives in the Mainland. The societal and cultural discrepancy impedes their intentions to learn and build up local social and cultural capitals, even for many of the youth studying in the local school system. Their lack of social skills in interacting with local counterparts and their insufficient understanding of local culture further impede their capability of accumulating more social and cultural capital. Meanwhile, many youths tend to create and establish their social networks with those counterparts possessing "equivalent and higher culture." Interestingly, their cultural spectrum actually refers to the scale of "class culture" in accordance with Bourdieu's notion of "habitus." From their perspective, the Chinese youth possessing similar socio-economic status to them are regarded as equivalent counterparts who mostly have no problem in interacting and building relationships with them.

Third Culture Youth

"Their fathers are 'hunting dogs' making much effort for the survival of their families in this land, and these kids are like 'poodles.' They need to be well fed to survive."

A history teacher in Taishang

Taiwanese transmigrant youth traveling and residing in two societies across the Taiwan-Strait share many characteristics with "third culture kids (TCKs)," a concept posed by Useem, Useem, and Donoghue (1963). As TCKs, the majority of my research participants show their high demand for family support in various ways, including verbal expressions, such as their self-descriptions in our interviews, and nonverbal expressions, such as school essays and daily behaviors. Among my participants, some built up closer relationships and stronger affectional

bonds with their families in the process of transmigration when their family is rather well-organized. But some youths suffer more separation anxiety, depression, and other psychological or behavioral problems if their families offer them insufficient mental or other substantive support. Likewise, due to the tremendous changes in their lives, transmigrant youths have an extremely high uncertainty about the future, including their personal lives and the future of their families. Therefore, their strong demand for friendship and fear of separation are separately strengthened, and the interrelationship between the two are compounded. It is said that, "The kids are the 'life of the community' (生命共同體)" in what they contribute to the future, including their vitality, but a minor problem in their friendships could grow to become an unbearable one and cause "huge damage," as explained a Taiwanese teacher in Taishang.

To those youths, transmigration brings many resources and also limitations, and the coexisting resources and limitations lead to a contradiction of advantages they enjoy and disadvantages they have to bear in the two cross-Strait societies. In general, compared to their counterparts in the Mainland and in Taiwan, transmigrant youths are regarded as a political and ethnic minority with more economic capacity. Meanwhile, young people with cross-Strait experiences also tend to be viewed as a group with more cultural and social capital, as well as the advantages of resources, vision, and opportunity. In general, young Taiwanese transmigrants are seen as a group with futures worldwide, at least in terms of cross-Strait mobility. On the contrary, these descriptors do not do justice to all the variety of adjusting and coping processes young people need to go through in their transmigrant lives, which include various emotional reactions to exclusion, separation, rejection, resistance, accommodation, cooperation, and integration or assimilation.

The ambiguous sense of belonging, one of the most salient and significant features of TCKs (Bowman, 2001; Fail et al., 2004), is clearly reflected in my field observations and interviews. Most of my research participants are located in an ambiguous and also dynamic place between China and Taiwan and between being insiders and being outsiders in two societies. Even though none of these characteristics are completely exclusive, no transmigrant youths is fully recognized by each group. Being situated in such an indefinite space brings challenges they need to deal with on the one hand, but it can also bring opportunities for them to seize. Young transmigrants tend to see themselves as "others" in both societies, not integral parts of either society, like TCKs (Pollock & Van Reken, 2009), who are able to find some in-between place in terms of cultural identity. This ambiguous sense of belonging shapes young people's situational positioning and identity performances, as they decide to become "a part of" and "apart from" particular groups (Useem & Downie, 1976).

A meaningful conversation I had with students in a group interview conducted in Taishang underscores this fluid and at times confusing sense of belonging. The group interview comprised three boys (Bob, Eric, and Frank) and one girl (Cindy) in the 11th grade. Bob is one of the "oldest" students in Taishang since he went to Taishang during the first year the school was built. He has been in Taishang for seven years since he was an elementary school student. Eric moved to the Mainland three years before when he was a middle school student. Frank had studied in a local middle school and then a high school for three years. He just transferred to Taishang when I started my formal fieldwork. Cindy studied in Taishang when she moved to the Mainland for one year in the 5th grade, and then shared similar schooling paths with Frank, but she transferred back to Taishang one year before Frank.

I observed early on that diverse groups of students stimulate students' thinking and discussions. Before this group interview, I'd already conducted one to two individual interviews with each student. In this interview, I encouraged them to fill in a group interview sheet, and we started our group discussion by sharing what they wrote and their reflections on one another's answers. The group interview sheet mainly asks students to consider the similarity and difference of cross-Strait societies and also young people in the two societies, and the strategies they adopt to support their transmigrant lives. Aside from this group interview sheet as a stimulus for discussion, I asked each student to tell us where he or she stands on the China and Taiwan issue, based on their presumptions about whether they represent two identical spheres, as noted in the following segment of the gathering's conversation.

Eric: (laughing and pointing at Cindy) Ladies first.

Cindy: (staring at Eric a second and starting to talk) I was often called "dalumei (Mainland girl, 大陸妹)[68]" when I went back to Taiwan, particularly during the time when I studied in local schools. A lot of relatives also said I sounded like a "Mainlander (大陸人)."

Bob: This is the biggest problem that we have. We are Taiwanese here, and become Mainlanders there. This is not who *we* think we are, but who *they* think we are.

Me: And… you think…?

Bob: Of course, I am a Taiwanese. But I have the stronger feeling that I am a Taiwanese in the Mainland rather than in Taiwan. (I encouraged him with a look to continue this speech)… Because in Taiwan, everyone is Taiwanese, but here, when you feel something

[68] Dalumei (Mainland girl, 大陸妹) has a condescending meaning as used by people in Taiwan to address a female from Mainland China living in Taiwan.

different, you know you are a Taiwanese… But I have left Taiwan for a very long time, so I don't feel that I am… a Taiwanese, like those Taiwanese in Taiwan.

Eric: (interrupting Bob's talk) We… we are not [local] people on either side (我們兩邊都不是人)."

(all other three people were nodding their heads)

Frank: Hmm. When I am here, in the local school… When they criticize Taiwan's politics or other things, I had to defend Taiwan because what they said was wrong. But when I went back to Taiwan, they said bad things about Mainland as well… like they complained that the Mainland is full of "black-heart food (adulterated food, 黑心食品)," and I had to explained to them that what they saw on Taiwan TV news is not the truth. Maybe there is some "black heart food" in Mainland, but not all food is… like that. They just don't know each other well, and I have to explain to the other side for them… and sometimes, I have to defend them to the other group… So sometimes they are both mad at me, and see me as the support… the one belonging to the other side.

Me: (nodding my head) How do you feel when you are placed in that situation?

Frank: (shrugging his shoulders and bitterly smiling) I don't know… I feel in between… that I am "a loser on both sides (裡外都不是人)."

Cindy: Some people in Taiwan thought these Taiwanese businessmen coming to Mainland are "run-aways (出走)" and they are portrayed as "betrayers (叛徒)" who sell Taiwan… who don't love Taiwan… And we need to bear this label as well when we go back to Taiwan.

Eric: (looking a little irritated.) Obviously, we are Taiwanese. Who will be happy when we are called Mainlander? It is impossible for them [people in China] to see you as "one the

them (他們自己人)," so when we are discriminated by "our own bodies (我們自己人)," it hurts even more. We become "tailuren (Taiwan-Mainland person,台陸人)." (other students laughed when Eric continued his talk) We have nowhere to go, so we are in the middle. Sometimes it is not we who choose to be in the middle, but who are being pushed to the middle. I haven't been here too long, but I have that feeling already. I don't know how they feel. (he looked at three other students)

This snapshot of the group interview reveals transmigrant youth's experiences of being "the other" in their original and also host society, and represents their position dilemma between the two societies, which have hostile attitudes towards each other. Many of my research participants who have lived in the Mainland for a long period or studied in local schools in the Mainland find it particularly challenging to deal with the hostility between the two societies. Many of my participants share situations similar to Frank's, and they may turn to become "double defenders" who are criticized and even excluded by both sides in the end. Numerous young transmigrants express their struggles and feelings of being lost in relationships, and their sense of belonging in a China-Taiwan context, as middle men who do not refer to go-betweens who are able to mediate arguments or disagreements of two sides, but rather "the other" on behalf of both sides. Eric also pointed out that being in the middle is not something he chose himself. The position was decided for him and pushed on him by people in two societies where he lived before and lives now. Cross-Strait youths' sense of belonging or positioning is constructed by their subjective perceptions that are in turn shaped by other people's objective attitudes or judgments through their intersubjective social interactions.

These young transmigrants present a wide range of sense of belonging and positioning in relation to their two homes. The majority refer to their positions as located in the middle of Mainland China and Taiwan, but differently between the numbers two to seven on a 10-point identification scale.[69] Their in-between positions represent a wide range of subtle interpretations of belonging to two societies. A high school student studying in a local school told me, "I am a part of here, and a part of there. So, it also means I am a part of 'not here' and a part of 'not there.' And these preportions change, depending on different situations and different times." Those young people's feelings of "a part of" and "apart from" are not only embedded but also change as time goes on. When most of my research participants articulate their dynamic sense of belonging, some admit their sense of "no place" in our interviews. More told me they identify themselves as "Taiwanese," but importantly, none of my participants ever told me that their full belonging was to one of societies, nor to both societies.

Conclusion

Transmigration, to most of my research participants, is a process composed of loss and gain, full of challenges and opportunities. Overall, this chapter presents transmigrant youths' reflections on their movement across the Strait, portrays their lives in the host society, analyzes their creation and accumulation of various capitals during transmigration, and examines their senses of belonging through the connections and disconnections to both places where they lived before and live now. Their cross-Strait movement not only creates resources and opportunities to TCKs, but also limitations to and constraints on their lives. Transmigrant youths are assumed to be able to produce and accumulate more social and cultural capital in two societies that are

[69] I asked student to use number from 1 to 10 to position themselves between Taiwan and Mainland China. Number 1 refers to Taiwan, and number 10 indicates Mainland China.

transformed by their existing economic capital largely through different schooling choices. The production and reproduction of cultural and social capital, along with educational capital they also attain, are expected to become integrated to produce greater economic returns in the future. The four participants, Dandan, Sam, Connie, and Lin, thus embody these capital dynamics, and in particular, they demonstrate how schooling choices, community environments, cultural and societal discrepancies, and family support can play significant roles in shifting personal economic trajectories as well as overall capital dynamics. Connie, living her life generally separate from local reality, further displays her "encapsulated marginality," a concept proposed by Bennett (1993). The notion of encapsulated marginality here refers to those TCKs who tend to isolate themselves from other people in their host society, which appears threatening or "lower" in status and cultural norms than their original culture, where democracy, independent thinking, civilized behavior, and cultural sophistication are considered prevalent.

My research participants provide their abundant and rich reflections on the definition of (trans)migration and the meanings behind their movement to a new home. They show their uncertain sense of belonging in their transmigrant journey, but also learn to negotiate these differences with skill, humor, and curtailed or hidden anger. Like Gleason's study on TCKs (1970), my research exhibits a variety of youths' senses of belonging, from nowhere to everywhere. Young people's various perceptions of belonging also raise inconsistencies, however. That is, while most of my research participants similarly tend to identity with Taiwan, they present various senses of belonging along a complex spectrum. These divergent locations between belonging and identity are also supported by the research of Pollock & Van Reken (2009) on TCKs. Group identity of young Taiwanese transmigrants, illustrated in Chapters 4 and 5, is constructed by individuals' subjective recognition, other people's objective perspectives,

and their intersubjective negotiations. Differently, senses of belonging discussed in this chapter are regarded as young people's mental distance from as well as closeness to each society on the two sides of the Strait. These self-perceptions are formed by individuals' perceptions that are also shaped by their interactions with others, notably peers. Living through discrepancies among physical, social, and mental distances from each society, and also the discrepancy between identities and senses of belonging, most Taiwanese youths feel confused and lost within their transmigrant contexts even while demonstrating subtle strategies and abilities in managing these challenges, perhaps reflecting the flexibility of youth culture and adolescence in general.

In conclusion, through the self-narrations of their transmigration, the Taiwanese youth, as TCKs, reveal their insecurity in transmigration lives and uncertainty towards future trajectories. The complexity of their concepts of home, motherland, and country demonstrate this disorientation in their transmigration. With such confusion, they generally have awareness of being outsiders in both societies and also show a wide range of behaviors as both outsiders and insiders in two places in order to survive in their host society when still tending to maintain their connections with their original place. But these feelings are not one-sided by any means. All their perceptions and situated behaviors depicted in this chapter reflect answers to the study's micro-level question by presenting their daily identity struggles and adjustments with a range of emotions, including pride, self-confidence, courage, cunning, sarcasm, and even joy when presenting or misrepresenting (as in "faking" or "acting" out) their own convictions in contested political and social environments. Yet, their disorientation and struggles generally caused by the double exclusion from both societies across the Strait responds to my meso-level question by showing the influences of social interactions in reshaping the students' identification. The creation, accumulation, and transformation of diverse capitals, as seen from the meso-level

perspective, also indicates the role of schooling in producing and reproducing these resources of transmigrant youth through their interpersonal and community relations. Overall, this chapter's dialogues in particular provide an intricate self-portrayal of what it means to be a young Taiwanese transmigrant in China-Taiwan contexts, where their attempts or need to create personal benefits out of their transmigration experience while maintaining their group identity with Taiwan dominates much of their lives. But they do not perceive themselves as and are not considered as real insiders in either society, regardless of their time spent in their host country, but middlemen who are excluded to some degree by both sides.

Chapter 7: Conclusion

Being Taiwanese or Chinese are basic categories in which Taiwanese transmigrant youth living in Mainland China are classified, regardless of the blurred lines between their self-identification in their politically over-determined contexts. In the previous chapters I explore and analyze Taiwanese transmigrant youths' identification processes in the broad social and educational ecology composed of family, school, community, and cross-Strait societies. Three vantage points, the macro-, meso- and micro- levels, have enabled me to understand my participants' identity formation and transformation in the light of Taiwan's and China's frequently divergent behavior and cultural systems/norms. To investigate the power of ideologies in shaping youths' identities from the macro-perspective, represented by the two conflicting political ideologies of Taiwan and China, Chapter 4 focuses on schooling, illustrating how political ideologies may be transformed or disguised as a cultural form delivered through textbooks, school figures, and rituals. Chapter 5 focuses upon how social norms (e.g. "civilized" behaviors, freedom of speech and religion, the value of courtesy and honesty, and the concepts of diversity and individualism) and parallel concepts embedded in the larger social and educational structures on both sides of the Strait serve as other cultural forms in shaping the identification of Taiwanese youth.

At the meso-level, both chapters 4 and 5 exhibit the social interactions of transmigrant youths within a wide range of other people, including peers and teachers (with Taiwanese, Chinese, or foreign backgrounds), acquaintances, and even strangers in their original or host societies. Such interweaving and close interactions and negotiations with others generally differentiate Taiwanese transmigrant youth from other groups, even though they are expected to accumulate

social capital and other transformed capitals through their social networks, as detailed in Chapter 6. At the micro-level, chapters 4 and 5 clearly illustrate how and where Taiwanese youths perceive and practice their political, societal, and cultural identities as "Taiwanese" in their daily lives. The large social and educational ecology (i.e. family, school, community, and both societies across the Strait) provide a semi-integrated field, exhibiting the negotiations, practices, and re/constructions of youth identification with the two societies. Chapter 6 further examines youths' struggles and dilemmas of "being Taiwanese" in home and host countries, and articulates how they react to the challenges of double exclusion and transform their senses of belonging or not belonging fully in their cross-Strait lives. Overall, constructed through these three connected perspectives in a complex social and educational setting, this study empirically documents the nuances of the identification processes of Taiwanese youths living in the cross-Strait societies.

Significant Findings of Each Chapter

Among the variety of processes of adjustment shown by transmigrant youths in their new land, resistance – mainly resistance to China's One-China principle – is the most salient theme emerging from my ethnographic data. Young people's resistant behaviors are conducted through substantive forms, such as verbal (and even physical) quarrels with their Chinese peers and teachers at school, or with acquaintances and strangers outside the school setting. In addition to overt confrontation, Chapter 4 explores the symbolic resistance of youth through their subversive and even creative approaches, such as having a secret flag raising ceremony in Taishang, and holding the national flag of Burma at a school sports meet. This propensity, which hints at tendencies toward nationalism as well as freedom of thought and action, is noted by Stryker (1980, 1987), who stated that individuals, even constrained by their positions in social structure,

are still able to perform their social roles and identity in creative ways. In those scenarios, flags used to represent the nation, for example, are employed as resources to show political identification with Taiwan, even while living in the Mainland.

Compared to explicitly observable resistant behaviors, implicit resistance is articulated through youths' self-narratives. In order to "survive" in their new land permeated with political ideology and behavior patterns that conflict with those of their homeland, the majority of young Taiwanese transmigrants have shared similar experiences of adopting strategies of compromise or accommodation to avoid or escape possible political conflicts with individuals, communities, and the Chinese government at large. To this end, a number of youths express their situational identities on different occasions and in different ways. Their resistant thinking and defensive behaviors not only result from the contradiction of political ideology imposed by educational institutions and dominant in public discourse, but also are strengthened by exclusion, suppression, and discrimination on the part of their Chinese counterparts within and beyond schools. In sum, through the practices of substantive and symbolic resistance, overtly and covertly, Taiwanese youths embody their opposition to the Chinese overarching one-China principle and solidify their political identity with Taiwan. Such political identity is thus articulated as a part of their expression of group identity as Taiwanese.

Whereas resistance to China's ideology serves as the main response of Taiwanese youths to defend their Taiwanese identity, some young people are rather aggressive when criticizing China's societal and educational problems. A wide range of responses reflect their discontent and criticism of Chinese society, from perceived incivility, media censorship, dishonesty, and loss of social trust, to collectivism and dogmatism in education. These are regarded as social norms validated and implemented in their host society. Contrasting perceived Chinese norms with the

concepts and application of courtesy, honesty, social trust, freedom, democracy, and comparative individualism in Taiwanese society, youths differentiate themselves from their local Chinese counterparts. In addition, students' similarity of language use and popular youth culture, their sharing of local Taiwanese culture, social values and beliefs, as well as their proximity to Taiwan all further their recognition of belonging to Taiwan's society, culture, and people. Two sets of social norms produced and circulated on both sides of the Strait thus continue to separate Taiwanese youth in the Mainland from their local Chinese counterparts.

However, despite resistance to political ideology, young transmigrants are more inclined to accommodate two sets of social norms, which in some cases indicate the possibility of being integrated with each other. For example, the one Chinese institution Taiwanese youths admired was the strength of the Chinese economy, and the government's ability to maintain a healthy growth rate, important enough to justify levels of societal control. In addition, rather than assimilation, "selective acculturation" (Portes & Rumbaut 2001, p. 54) is unquestionably observed in the social and cultural aspects of transmigrant students' daily lives. Portes and Rumbaut defined selective acculturation as migrants' efforts to preserve their own cultures and values while still adopting partial cultural and social norms of their host society. This is a "grey area" for young transmigrants, in which they may adopt certain social norms used in Chinese society for personal defense or benefits, such as not using their native Taiwanese accent when speaking Mandarin Chinese on the Mainland. In general, such societal and cultural identities rooted in the recognition and accommodation of two sets of social norms provide transmigrant youths with a basis for distinguishing themselves from their Chinese counterparts, for reinforcing their identification with Taiwan, and also for facilitating their social and cultural adjustment in the Mainland.

Social norms that Taiwanese young people have unconsciously acquired or consciously learned from observations of others in their host society, particularly through their social networks, are expected to become social capital, which can also transform into other forms of capital. The production, reproduction, and accumulation of social, cultural, and educational resources in the large social and educational ecology across the Strait presumptively enables young transmigrants to gain positive economic returns in the long run. Located in such "transnational social fields" (Levitt & Schiller, 2004) and living with the presumption of having double resources and advantages, the students that animate Chapter 6 also remind us of the disadvantages and dilemmas transmigrant youth face when caught in double exclusion. Through being positioned as "the other" by people in both societies and in their self-positioning towards relations with the two lands, youths demonstrate certain discrepancies in their identity with Taiwan and their sense of belonging in the in-between position where straddling both cultures is required.

Young Taiwanese People as Transmigrant Youth

Taiwanese youth who live transnational and transmigrant lives (Khagram & Levitt, 2008; Smith, 2006) experience the world and themselves through geographic mobility, exposure to two cultures and societies, and uncertain future trajectories. As such, I also refer to these young people as "third culture kids" (TCKs) who do not and are not able to claim a single and full membership in either society (Pollock, 1988). Young Taiwanese, in their "transnational life" (Smith, 2006) as depicted in chapters 4 , 5, and 6, have encountered problems or suffered from their being "a part of" and "apart from" both counterparts in the Mainland and Taiwan (Useem & Downie, 1976; Fail et al*.,* 2004). At an age when belonging matters a great deal, to avoid feeling

rootless and excluded as outsiders (Bowman, 2001), they can adopt the "strategy" of TCKs (Bennett, 1993) by engaging in role playing in their social interactions with others on both sides of the Strait. This not only serves the purpose of self-protection in a society that shuns nonconformists (and often sees all non-Han nationalities, and that of the Mainland's "55 minorities" as belonging to lesser cultures or even "barbarians"), but also provides individual benefits, such as economic opportunity or inclusionary treatment. For example, Mei's preference of pretending to be a Korean instead of Taiwanese when encountering the self-identity question posed by the taxi driver, noted in Chapter 5, exhibits nuances of cultural identification as an outsider. Young Taiwanese are shown in this study to have developed "constructive marginality" and "encapsulated marginality" in different ways (Bennett, 1993). Chapters 4, 5, and 6 provide a number of instances to demonstrate, on the one hand, that some Taiwanese transmigrant youth regard their "transnational habitus" (Guarnizo, 1997) as resources and advantages that can separate them from their Chinese counterparts, while others see their transnational background as a limitation and disadvantage, and in turn may choose to isolate themselves from others in their host society. As seen in this study, some transmigrant youth show their partial assimilation to the mainstream culture and integration into Chinese society more than others, but the majority still segregate themselves or are segregated by others from local Chinese groups.

Along with those characteristics that Taiwanese youth share with TCKs through their transmigration experience, they further demonstrate several important features of young transmigrants in the given China-Taiwan contexts. As a group of moving from a rather technologically advanced culture to a less-developed but rapidly growing society, Taiwanese young people's families with socioeconomic privileges mostly choose to live in contained communities, usually gated, separating them from local people's daily lives. Such social

segregation based on privilege may result in their general indifference towards their local community and society at large. Those students who receive little support or advice from families while in the Mainland may feel particularly isolated, yet are still deliberate in maintaining their identity when exploring the outside community and connections with the host society. This kind of experience is reflected by some students in what appears as an impermanent and potentially disintegrating identity, an outsider living in a created "bubble" of self-protection, as noted by Kai when describing her defiance and accommodation to her host culture: "When I walked along the street, I may look the same as them, but I clearly know that I am different from them, and I want to be different from them. I have been here for years, but I kind of live in a bubble. But I'd rather live in the bubble. To be honest, I am so scared that the bubble may be popped someday. If so, I will not know what to do, because I really do not know this place and the people here." Even though Kai is a Taishang student, many other Taiwanese youth attending local schools also share similar concerns of experiencing social distance from "real" Shanghai society as opposed to the "bubble" they may create as a survival tactic. The at-times severe social segregation they experience in the Mainland, particularly as adolescents, seems to become an un-crossable distance when they attempt to form bridges with their host society.

The mental distance from the local community and the substantive geographic distance from their own Taiwanese society render a form of immobility, or limited mobility, for most young transmigrants, even though they are usually regarded as a group who often travels across borders. In Huang's study (2010) on re-mediated identity of Taiwanese adult businessmen living in the Mainland, she argued that transmigrants with a "transient mentality" usually present their expat identities and see themselves as being on sojourns or stopovers. Similarly, my research demonstrates young transmigrants, without knowing their future home destination, mostly regard

their stay in China as a study-abroad experience wherein they tend to claim their identity with Taiwan and express nostalgia towards their homeland. Being "overseas" students in the cosmopolitan city of Shanghai and its surrounding environments, Taiwanese youth are presumed to have cross-Strait advantages, or even a positive international vision from triple niches, where the TCKs label may be seen as offering certain opportunities in a global setting where cultural identities continue to blur or disintegrate, and "closed societies" such as the Mainland are losing ground to international pressures toward "openness" that are largely economic in nature. For example, the US is able to put aside its distaste of Chinese communist practices in light of its huge consumer market potential, just as China itself is America's largest lender (U.S. Treasury, 2015) and one of its biggest investors.[70]

Yet, my research shows that it is unlikely for most of those transmigrants, regardless of their schooling choices, to obtain substantive understanding of Taiwanese, local Shanghainese, and international cultures, or to further gain positive influences from the integration of Taiwanization, localization, and globalization. Nor do they develop triple-identity outlooks to the degree that they and their families might hope. As Berry (2005) stated, such integration only take places when migrants and their host society mutually accept each other without the overt interference of dominant cultural ideology and resistance against it. Naturally, the majority of Taiwanese transmigrants, in contrast to those in Taiwan or the Mainland who do not cross the Strait, have more transnational experiences and multilayered relations with the two societies. But young transmigrants who maintain their Taiwanese citizenship while in Mainland China may not be able to fully enjoy the benefits of being flexible citizens as Ong (1999) proposed, but are instead constrained by the policies, particularly educational policies, put forth by both governments. The

[70] U.S. Treasury (2015, January). Major Foreign Holders of Treasury Securities. Retrieved from http://www.treasury.gov/ticdata/Publish/mfh.txt

outcomes of large cross-Strait social and educational structures, and public discourse, in effect "accuse" them of being pursuers of self-interest in Taiwan and outsiders in the Mainland.

To sum up, owing to their Taiwanese backgrounds but locality in the Mainland, Taiwanese transmigrant youths encounter numerous challenges, not only from outside both societies, but also from their internal struggles, confusion, and self-questioning that is common to their age group. Young people in my study display a great variety of adjustment processes in their transmigrant lives. Whereas few young people tend to seize transnational niches to expand their life horizons, the majority of youth choose or have no choice but to separate themselves from their local counterparts, for different reasons. Meanwhile, they are substantially distant from their cohorts in Taiwan, physically and psychologically, due to their experience in China. In this double-distanced position, being a sort of outsider on both sides of the Strait often leads to their sense of displacement and disorientation. As chapters 4 and 5 indicate, most transmigrant youths identify with Taiwan on many levels; yet the discrepancy of their Taiwanese identity and sense of belonging revealed in Chapter 6 highlights the crisis that Taiwanese youths can experience in the loss of their identity ground if they keep being pushed away by their home culture as well as host cultures.

Taiwanese Identification

While chapters 4 and 5 illustrate patterns that make up what we might call "mainstream identity" of transmigrant youths with Taiwan, the question remains: what do they mean when they declare, "I am a Taiwanese"? Since identification is a process of meaning creation (Fairclough & Wodak, 1997), the meanings behind "being Taiwanese" may be constructed by youths as only part of their identity when in their host country. This study did not begin with the

intent to adopt existing definitions of Taiwanese identity to explain transmigrants' concepts of personal identity. Rather, I aimed to develop the interpretation of Taiwanese identity from the perspectives of young people themselves. This study does not show a homogenous identity or linear course of the identification processes of Taiwanese youth, who represent a diversity of family background, ethnic upbringing, individual characteristics, trajectory of movement, and period of residence across the Strait. These differences reveal themselves through the displays of transmigrant youth identification and cultural assimilation, as well as resistance processes.

Identity has been widely accepted as a dynamically and socially constructed component of personal life, instead of a fixed entity (De Ruyter & Conroy, 2002), for it involves the comparison of similarity/sameness and difference (Jenkins, 1996, 2008). The dynamic and fluid nature of identity (trans)formation, shown in this study is veritably reflected in the negotiation processes of Taiwanese transmigrant youth with others in the broad ecology of cross-Strait social and educational settings. Young people who may or may not have formed a pre-existing identification with Taiwan gradually construct and reconstruct their identities through their interactions with different and even contradictory political ideologies and social norms. In both their original and host societies, and mainly in dealings with their peers and teachers in schools, where they spend most of their time, a great number of my research participants indicated that their Taiwanese consciousness and political awareness were created or stirred up after they moved to the Mainland, particularly after their explicit or implicit political confrontations with Chinese they countered within and outside school. That is, the close interactions with peers and teachers in school did not necessarily result in any coherent identity with mainstream ideology. Rather, students' political awareness was created and their pre-existing political identities were strengthened through socialization (e.g. identification of younger students with others at

Mingdao and Taishang Schools). But the conflict between their original political identity and dominant ideology was often aggravated or alleviated through these social interactions (e.g. older vs younger students at local schools).

Whereas local Chinese schools confront many youths with a "battlefield" (Paquette, 1991) of political confrontation and negotiation, Taiwanese businessmen's schools exemplify the role of "incubator" or enabler in which students maintain and continuously deepen their recognition of the dominant ideology – including that of a powerful capitalist and individualist mentality in a culture supposedly dominated by communist values – through their daily practices. It is not surprising, therefore, that Taiwanese identity can be highly politicized. When Taiwanese people claim "I am a Taiwanese" to people in the Mainland, for example, the challenge of the independence of Taiwan or reunion of Taiwan with China usually follows. That is, from the viewpoint of Chinese people, Taiwanese identity shall not exist if it stands as a form of national identity separate from theirs; after all, the two groups were only separated since 1949, and they belong to the same race and speak the same language, if not dialect. Such a standard and non-questioned ideological position usually stirs up transmigrant youths' resistance to Chinese identity, represented by the one-China principle, and further solidifies their identity with Taiwan, which can be characterized as a politically defensive identity, even when their preferences for their homeland is "justified" as being realistic, pragmatic, or "natural" in terms common feelings of nationalism that are present in virtually all global societies. In this way, their Taiwanese identity is involved with the recognition of the sovereignty of Taiwan as a "nation-state" or country in its own right – as it is seen by many outside China. Taiwanese transmigrant youths do not have political identity struggles or confusion over whether Taiwan is a nation-state, as demonstrated by their mixed use of the terms "Taiwan" and "Republic of China (ROC)." The

majority of the youth in this study refer to Taiwan as Taiwan, instead of the official but historically burdened title of ROC, when talking about their homeland (in contrast from the Mainland), which has been promoted in Taiwanization public discourse and educational reform in Taiwan from the 1990s onward.

Aside from the conflicting political ideologies seen on both sides of the Strait, Taiwanese transmigrant youths clearly distinguish social and cultural differences in their daily lives; their upbringing in Taiwan and its cultural norms serve as a significant basis for differentiating themselves from their counterparts in the Mainland. The similarities among people from Taiwan and differences between Taiwanese people and local groups in Mainland societal and cultural manifestations provide students with at times savvy critical resources, integrated with nuanced political identities, to construct their overall concept of Taiwanese identity as a group both within and outside geographical boundaries. As identity is a constantly changing sense of both personal and public internalization and outer expression, created through "the relation to the other" (Hall, 1996, p. 4), the positive meanings behind self-identity re/development need to be constructed in part through the distancing with and/or perceived negativity of others. Hall (1990) also argued that identity, particularly diasporic identity, was "a matter of 'becoming' as well as of 'being'" (p. 225), an issue that acknowledges the future perhaps even more than the past. The recognition of Taiwan's history, language, culture, polity, and other social norms approved and promoted in Taiwanese society has become a resource drawn upon by youth to contrast their differing aspects in the Mainland. The comparison and contrast process thus enlarges as well as lessens the distance of Taiwanese and their surrounding counterparts. Taiwanese youth identity is not merely some form of political acknowledgement, but rather an integrated sense of group

dynamics from varying political, societal, and cultural perspectives constructed and reconstructed through everyday comparisons and differentiations.

When addressing opposition or resistant identity formation, however, for example, when transmigrant youths reject being assimilated into the overarching political ideology and local Chinese culture and social norms, they can build up a "romanticized" and distanced identity with Taiwan while at the same time developing a very pragmatic and even situational identity that can accommodate the "TCK" form of multiple, interacting, and at times conflicting or blurred identities. We have seen that the majority of young Taiwanese transmigrants in this study revealed their strong affection for Taiwan as well as nostalgia, reflecting Clifford's (1994) conclusion about the characteristics that people across the border share through the experience of "living here and remembering /desiring another place" (p. 311). This is particularly true for Taishang students and those youth who have moved to the Mainland for long periods, bringing with them good childhood memories or strong family ties in Taiwan. The contrast of their mental proximity to and substantive geographic distance from Taiwan, plus their discontent with their lives when being marginalized in the Mainland, can give rise to a form of romanticized Taiwanese identity. As stated by one Taishang teacher, "Such romanticized identity is just lip service," implying that students' fundamental identity is informed by what they would like to imagine about their home versus its reality.

Contrary to such an identity based on remote or idealized components, youths living across the Strait also tended to choose their identities based on realistic concerns. Many of them efficiently (if begrudgingly) act on and understand their situational identity in various scenarios, for the purposes of personal protection or benefit. For example, in Rigger's research on people's identity in Taiwan (2006), she concluded that the generation of Taiwanese who reached their

adulthood during or after the democratization of Taiwan in the late 1980s are more pragmatic and flexible and capable of abandoning the problematic dualism of Taiwan and China. For young Taiwanese mostly born in the 1990s living on both sides of the Strait, it is not surprising to see their flexible, pragmatic, and situational identities form, in spite of their split opinions towards conflicting Chinese and Taiwanese identities and cultural norms. From young people's perspectives, their public identification with Taiwan in political, societal, and cultural aspects and rejection of Chinese identification in private is not a contradiction but a form of accommodation to real life circumstances.

At the heart of this matter is what it meant to be a Chinese, a category that has changed considerably in the last century. A number of scholars studying the notion of "Chineseness" (Deng, 2002; Hsing, 1998; Ong, 1999; Shen, 2005; Smart & Smart, 1998) have argued that it is often the priority of employees working with overseas Chinese, Hongkongese, and Taiwanese to expand their businesses, regardless of cultural concerns. Again, it is overarching economic concerns that influence these assimilation or accommodation efforts, regardless of conflicting ideologies. Likewise, as shown in this study, Taiwanese identity formation, for Taiwanese transmigrant adolescents at least, is an internal process they keep to themselves and their in-group members as a form of "being" largely for economic benefits. This internal identity may, however, contrast with their "performed" or situated identity vis-a-vis outsiders in a form of continuous role-playing, regardless of any personality consistency or inconsistency issues. This role playing shows that for some of out-group people in the Mainland, the reality of "becoming" mature and financially successful adults is the priority, regardless of contested cultural behavioral norms. Through the processes of becoming, students show their subjectivity in re/presenting themselves to both inner and outer groups. Overall, the coexistence of their

romanticized and/or internal identity with Taiwan as well as pragmatic identity with Taiwan and China is not ambivalent, but rather fluid, accommodating, and eclectic, in terms of resources from and expression of their necessarily flexible personal and community identities.

Taiwanese transmigrant youth who can represent the "transnational capitalist class" (Sklair, 1991) also show their Taiwanese identity as a "class" identity beyond the political, societal, and cultural complexities involved in class politics. Wang (2008), in his research on adult Taiwanese businessmen's living experiences in the Mainland, argued that the congregation of their Taiwanese identity resulted from the dissimilar lifestyles between Taiwanese people and Chinese people, which was caused by different political and economic systems and histories. Hu (2006) and Lin (2006b) also found a sense of superiority among Taiwanese transmigrants in the Mainland, who were coming from more privileged economic and cultural backgrounds that serve to separate Taiwanese people from their local Chinese counterparts. Likewise, this sense of class identity is observed through transmigrant youths' schooling options. While similar socioeconomic backgrounds and lifestyles shared by Taishang students may solidify their in-group identity, and the discrepancy of economic resources between Taiwanese students and their Chinese counterparts in local public schools may limit the social and cultural activities they can share, the group boundaries can nonetheless be enlarged. Youths' class identity can allow or encourage individuals to transcend boundaries of the Taiwanese group and others. For instance, Taiwanese students studying in international classes or private Chinese schools tend to admit people coming from different cultures into their group, including local Chinese, especially those possessing similar socio-economic status—as long as there are no pressing or conflicting political ideology or social norms involved. In other words, if they stick to shared economic

interests and stay away from divergent politics Taiwanese and Chinese students can find common ground.

Given my finding that there is a kind of collective Taiwanese identity shared by nearly all transmigrant youths, the aforementioned descriptions portray their Taiwanese identity as forms of political defensive identity, differentiated identity, coexisting romanticized and pragmatic identity, and class identity. Whereas the complexity of Taiwanese identity has been diversely interpreted and contested, its ethnic, cultural, and national definitions such as the meanings of "being Taiwanese" as created by young Taiwanese transmigrants reveal multiple or blurred identity formations, both unconsciously and deliberately enacted. From an ethnic perspective, people in Taiwan, particularly Mainlanders moving to Taiwan in the late 1940s, tended to have what is termed a "double homeland complex" (Lo, 2002). However, as Dittmer (2005) argued, even though identity in Taiwan is highly related to ethnicity, the importance of ethnicity in shaping people's identity continues to decrease in modern times. In this study, a *waishengren* (Mainlander) background of young Taiwanese is not associated with their acknowledged attitudes on China. That is, some young Taiwanese with *waishengren* backgrounds are able to accommodate dual identities, but regard their Chinese identity as being inscribed with kinship and language only. Their chosen identity with Taiwan is based on their sharing of lived experiences, goals, manners, attitudes, and linguistic expressions with people in Taiwan and their Taiwanese cohorts. This includes their recognition of Taiwan's changing and often problematic political, societal, and cultural development and identity as a nation. To some third-generation Taiwanese Mainlanders, their recognition of China as a form of adopted "motherland" that can provide (notably financial) benefits for them, generally results from looking *ahead* to the future of cross-Strait relations instead of looking *back* upon their ancestors' history. Yet such

acceptance is mainly a form of economic reality acknowledgement, instead of national, political, societal, or cultural recognition. From the cultural perspective, Wu (2008) in his research on Taiwanese transmigrant adults' cultural adjustment and identity in China, indicated the ways in which the overlap of Taiwanese and Chinese cultures may contribute to Taiwanese transmigrants' dual cultural identities.

My study, on the contrary, suggests that in the majority of Taiwanese youths' eyes, some clear distinctions as well as blurred boundaries necessarily exist between overall Chinese culture and the perceived uniqueness of Taiwanese culture. This is particularly meaningful in relation to individuals being integrated into aboriginal, Chinese, and local Taiwanese cultures in the Mainland, as well as Japanese, as for the first half of the 20th century Taiwan was occupied under Japanese colonization. Any well-defined cultural boundaries could be attributed to the success of thorough educational reforms in Taiwan. The concept of Taiwanese identity being closely linked to the concept of nationalism was initiated for purposes of potential Japanese colonial emancipation in the 1920s, which later become a confrontation about the KMT's rules of fighting for Taiwan's democratization (Ching, 2001). A number of scholars (Buruma, 1996; Jacob, 2005; Lo, 2002) have argued that Taiwanese identity no longer represents a victimized identity but the "glory" of democracy set up in contrast to China's dictatorship. For my young Taiwanese research participants living across the Strait, "being Taiwanese" similarly and directly carries to some degree the ideal of political democracy in Taiwan, which is also manifested in freedom to perform individual acts that may not be practiced by mainstream society – or at least the freedom to not succumb to pressures of conformity across the board. It is generally recognized that Taiwanese identity does not necessarily represent Taiwanese nationalism, as shown in many opinion polls conducted in Taiwan for years. Most of the youths in this study

acknowledge and uphold the sovereignty of the nation-state of Taiwan, but generally support the maintenance of the status quo in cross-Strait relations. That is, to transmigrant youths, the independence of Taiwan from China is not a preferred option for self-interest protection.

To sum up, whereas Geng (2006) and Leng (2002) indicated that the younger generation and professionals of Taiwanese transmigrants more likely identify with China owing to their long-term settlement plans, and Deng (2005) similarly pointed out the possibility of Taiwanese businessmen and their children possessing dual identities, my research underscores the integrated nature of Taiwanese transmigrant youth identities as they negotiate and perform them for insiders and outgroups. This includes their private/individual blurred identities, which together with group identity comprises a wide range of concerns, and cannot easily be restricted to decoding and sorting into categories based on broad or nationalistic group dynamics.

Transnational Identity

In the previous section I have summarized my new understanding of the collective Taiwanese identification of Taiwanese transmigrants, explaining the meanings of Taiwanese identity they created, and the possibility of dualism of Taiwanese identity as well as Chinese identity from youths' perspectives. Here I return to the question if and how Taiwanese youths across the Strait, as transmigrants traveling and living "without borders" (Khagram & Levitt, 2008, p. 5), have developed so-called "transnational identity." Transnational identity here deposes the traditional concept of having a leading identity deep-rooted in a single place, and stresses a sense of bifocality (Rouse, 1992). In this manner, the concept of transnational identity challenges conventional either/or definitions of identity, offering instead "the logic of both-and-and" (Kearney, 1995, p.558). Levitt (2001) pointed out that transnational identity is extremely

fluid, and sometimes can accommodate contradictory identities. Yet, even though either/or identity (Taiwanese or Chinese) and both-and- identities (Taiwanese and Chinese) options have been widely offered in Taiwanese society, the coexistence of two basic identities is still a major concern in public discourse, and is inarguably incompatible in China.

When encountering such opposition of politicalized identities, the vast majority of young Taiwanese transmigrants uphold identification with Taiwan instead of an accommodation of both identities. This reveals an absence of transnational identity, and further challenges presumption of transnational identity that transmigrant individuals are expected to build up. The large social and educational ecology, comprising family, school, community, and cross-Strait societies serves transmigrants in this study as a transnational social field offering various "cultural repertories" (Levitt, 2005, 2011) for the youth to construct, negotiate, and reproduce their social identities, as Vertovec also suggested (2001). It is evident that through the daily interactions with others in such transnational social fields, that Taiwanese transmigrant youth have built up more or less multi-layered relations with their societies of origin and settlement. But I do not recognize clear transnational identities in these youths, as their transnational identity is associated with more than one and sometimes conflicting national affiliations (Schiller et al., 1995; Vertovec, 2001). The vast majority of the youths in this study reject a solid identity with China and stress their Taiwanese identity; some explained their identity with China as only being ethnic-based by kinship or in a broad cultural or historical sense as culturally Chinese. Even though they may act as "Chinese" in various occasions, such situational identities are merely formed out of strategies for survival and accumulation of diverse capitals, as Guarnizo (2003) and Ong and Nonini (1997) argued, instead of being deeply internalized. The accumulation of various capital and cross-cultural benefits does not serve as resources for their identity, but rather as an instrument

they can use. From my perspective dual identities, if truly existing in their own right, do not embody the essence of transnational identity, even in light of the ambiguity involved in defining "identity." The identification of transmigrant youths with being Taiwanese outweighs any identification with China, and their admiration for or recognition of China is still mostly limited to its striking economic performance. In this manner, transnationalism, in such a context, may be regarded as economically-oriented, and any characterizations of transnational identity are rarely expressed and felt, even as youths' face important issues of making a decent living and getting ahead in unstable or uncomfortable living conditions.

In conclusion, this study addresses the various definitions, interpretations, and possible meanings that create and alter Taiwanese identity constructions. The youth narratives of self and descriptions of significant others in this study present a deeply personal as well as structural understanding of the dynamics of cross-Strait cultural relations and negotiations. The processes of their identity (trans)formation always take place in broader arenas, and I have observed there compliance to, negotiation with, and resistance to mainstream Chinese ideologies and cultures, their assimilation with and differentiation from others, and their everyday identity practices that change depending on circumstances. Whereas most of young transmigrants express a somewhat integrated identity with Taiwan's political democracy, social norms, and cultural values, they may also perform situational identity shifts and develop pragmatic identity role-playing for specific purposes in their new home. The diverse capital that they tend to accumulate in their transnational social fields are mostly applied for realistic benefits and seemingly are not converted to form a foundational or fixed identity. During transnational migration, Taiwanese young people differ from the image proposed by many scholars. They are able to build up an explicit and implicit identity as Taiwanese; yet, their sense of belonging is disoriented owing to

displacement from their homeland, and also being pushed by both sides of the Strait toward the in-between position as both insiders and outsiders.

As identities always undergo continual transformation, especially for young people, the identification of Taiwanese transmigrant youths is also seen as unsettled, a changing process that encourages adaptation in many forms. One of these forms that seems to help young people adjust is humor, as well as sharing anger with friends about problems they face in dealing with Chinese culture and associates. While one can see the overall skills and resources of young participants in this research, their abilities, for example, to assess the limitations, challenges, and opportunities afforded by their host country, to laugh and complain together at some of the ridiculousness of the situations they confront. These responses reveal a key coping ability and possible psychological need. After all, in daily life, these adolescents must make the best of unfortunate or challenging circumstances, and if they can laugh or share their anger or frustration while negotiating their accommodation, assimilation, and resistance to their new home, the complex path they must travel and the burdens they carry become lighter. As ardent consumers of popular culture, driven by social media that apparently makes the world a smaller place, these students also have the advantage of seeing and adjusting to fast-changing global trends, contributing to them, and ultimately discarding useless, impractical, or destructive ideology and behaviors. This includes the acknowledgement that being selfish, dishonest, pushy, and non-caring toward others (as they note in the Mainland) is not really appealing on the human level. Nor is it good for business or society in light of global concerns that require people to solve problems based on mutual respect and shared needs, where dictation from a power elite of government officials and other major players such as large corporations do not always serve the common population and the common good. And after all, communism in China (and Russia) is actually capitalism with a

veneer of public concern, which students are well aware of; everyone plays the game. In any case, the future is theirs to shape. Young transmigrants interviewed in this study represent the global future in which people may be less tied to nationalist roots and prejudices and need to work together to achieve common goals of health and welfare. In this research, adolescents are the major research subjects. Adolescence is for all the world's children, a time of rapid development and self-reflection. Thus, many of the experiences of transmigrants shared in this study, in fact, reveal a large world rather than identity development during the period of time that people have come to shorthand as "adolescence." The lives of Taiwanese transmigrants, therefore, shed light on the particularities of adolescence as it is experienced in the changing cultures of Greater China.

Limitation of Research and Position of Researcher

My ethnographic research draws upon three main research methods, in-depth interviews, participant observations, and textbook analyses, to construct the identification processes of Taiwanese youth's cross-Straight, transnational lives. While the use of three methods for triangulation is presupposed to enable cross-checking of the validity of research findings, they may be still insufficient. When identity issues are explored and examined, scholars of identity and methodological inquiry both state the significance of the construction and reconstruction of identity formation from various points of view, including subjective, objective, and interpersonal perspectives, in order to bring out the divergent meanings of identity. Based on the significance of position-taking for the purpose of validity, I always used video recordings of classroom observations in this study, and then invited students for further reflections on their comments, behaviors, and interpersonal interactions in class. Due to time constraints, however, I was not

able to carry out further validity checks by incorporating student reflections and interpretations of issues.

Another limitation of my research concerns the potential lack of diversity of my research participants across age, sex, schooling, ethnicity, family background, length of residence in the Mainland, and so forth. As a female researcher, it was easier for me to establish relationships with female students. I was able to closely observe female students' daily lives, including their social interactions in dorms or participating in "girl talk." Female participants in the study were also more likely to open up to me when discussing personal matters, and as students, they could relate to me as a student also working hard to advance by studies and career goals. In this way, I have collected more observation data on female than male participants. Also, due to such a wide range of aforementioned differences between the youths in this study, it has been very challenging for me to thoroughly include all of the nuances of their differences in this research. A future longitudinal study is needed to deeply analyze youths with diverse backgrounds and their identity complexities and (trans)formations. With the one-year time limitation of this study and accessibility challenges in the beginning of my field stay, I only conducted observations at Mindao School for one semester, compared to the two semesters that I was stationed at Taishang.

To effectively manage field time allocation, I endeavored to recruit various Taiwanese youth outside Taishang from the beginning of my fieldwork. Likewise, the discrepancy of time I had spent in the Mainland (nearly ten months) and in Taiwan (nearly one month) raises some concern about the implementation of multi-sited research. Based on their busy school schedules, Taiwanese transmigrants had different arrangements for their winter and summer breaks, during which they did not necessarily visit Taiwan, or were only able to stay in Taiwan for a short period of time. Constrained by such these short returns to Taiwan, different family plans, and

scattered locations, the observation data I collected on youths' lives in Taiwan was not rich enough for me to build a comprehensive transnational social field for this study. Finally, when conducting research on identity exploration of the youth with whom I share a similar background, I have been attentive to reflective awareness regarding my position as researcher, one with a Taiwanese perspective. To decrease if not avoid presumptions about students' identity positions and identity claims, I paid a great deal of attention to establishing and maintaining a neutral position when interacting with my research participants.

Contribution of This Research

My research contributes to current scholarship in three ways. First, with the focus on Taiwanese identity in the context of transmigration between China and Taiwan, my research enhances our understanding of Taiwanese identity *per se*, and also transnational identity, particularly in the context of strong political confrontation. Second, as the first multi-sited ethnographic study exploring Taiwanese youth going through schooling in Mainland China, my study provides rich descriptive empirical data portraying Taiwanese youths' transmigrant lives, and also deepens our understanding of the role of broad educational and social ecologies in (re)shaping young people's identification in transmigrant contexts. Third, through the reconstruction of lived experiences of young Taiwanese transmigrants, my research enriches the developing studies of TCKs, particularly in the East Asian context, which has been under-explored.

In probing the identity development and (trans)formation of Taiwanese youth in their transnational lives, my findings reveal the complex and varying interactions of social and educational powers and players, including daily-life interactions with people of different classes

and cultural traditions of Taiwan and the Mainland, that shape and reshape young transmigrants' identification. Through the integration of three different but interlinking theories and my ethnographic study, I have discovered and attempted to explain the fluid, contested, and contextualized nature and characteristics of social identity in the transmigrant environment. In particular, by addressing the shifting and quickly changing identity concerns operating in China and Taiwan, I reveal a range of meanings behind Taiwanese identity as deliberately and or unconsciously constructed by transmigrant youths themselves. The meanings of "Taiwanese identity" they create enrich the existing scholarship on Taiwanese identity, and also question and challenge the presumption of the development of transnational identity more broadly.

As reviewed earlier in this study, current research concerning Taiwanese transmigrants in China falls mainly into three categories. The first category pays attention to Taiwanese people's business operations and employment, and cultural adjustment in China. The second category emphasizes the educational domain that recognizes educational demands of transmigrant youths, and further investigates the policies, regulations, and administrative issues of schooling for those students (Chu, 1999; Lin, Chang & Chang, 2002; Liu, 2003; Tao, 2009; Wang, 2003; Wu, Chen & Song, 2004), along with their learning experiences, adjustment processes, and schooling choices (Chen, 2004; Liu, 1999). Identity has been a concern in some of these studies (Chen & Wu, 2006; Chiang, 2008; Deng, 2005; Lin, 2002), yet no research to date has particularly focused on adolescents, nor set their experiences in the large social and educational ecologies that exist on both sides of the Strait. In this manner, my research addresses a current scholarly gap with its focus on educational issues in the cross-Strait context, and also further enriches the scholarship of identity formation of youth in transmigration settings on a larger scale.

Transnational actions are circumstanced and context-based in most of the literature; however, ethnographic studies on diverse contexts have enhanced understanding of global trends of migration (Portes, 2003). Even though the prevailing phenomena of migration has been investigated and articulated by scholars working within interdisciplinary frameworks for decades, the primary focus has been on America, Europe, and even Africa. How Asian transmigrants, particularly Asian transmigrant youth, experience their own dramatic life changes and identity challenges remains under-researched. This study adds to that literature a significant understanding of migrant youths' lived experiences and even histories in East Asia by providing a unique case study of the complexities of identity in relation to politics, society, and culture. In addition, by bridging and integrating various bodies of literature, this study particularly contributes to scholarship of identity dynamics in educational settings and in the large transmigration context from macro-, meso-, and micro-perspectives. Given the historically contentious nature of China-Taiwan relations, this study's findings will also be applicable to other world regions characterized by political or ethnic tensions, such as the Middle East, the Korean peninsula, Spain, Germany, Northern Ireland, and even the European Union. Further, this project provides a foundation for scholarship on the creation of "third culture kids" in Asia. Most importantly, the detailed description of diverse Taiwanese young transmigrants' experiences and identification at the center of this project will provide the next generation of youth in China and Taiwan an opportunity to think about the common future they will likely share.

Future Research Directions

With regard to future research, more studies are needed to contribute to a comprehensive understanding of Taiwanese youths' transmigrant lives and their identification processes. To

untangle the complexity of identity (trans)formation in the transmigrant context, a longitudinal multi-sited study would be significant. Through a longitudinal study, more evidence would be provided to support and confirm long-term identification processes instead of focusing on identity as manifested at a particular point of time. In particular, longitudinally following up on the young Taiwanese participants in this study for the purposes of investigating their identification (trans)formation along their life course would allow us to better understand how transmigrant youths develop their identities in the long run and if their identities become somehow more "stabilized" when they move from adolescence to adulthood. Additionally, multiple site research can interlink sites to a larger context and accommodate diverse research subjects, with the ultimate goal of reaching a better understanding of lives and identification in a transnational social field. Through longitudinal multi-sited research, many tangled questions that this study is not able to resolve might be answered. For example, what is the process of identity formation of youths with cross-Strait parents? How is their identification process different from their Taiwanese counterparts with both parents from Taiwan? And how much do parents and family affect this identification process?

Similar questions can be applied to youths with different backgrounds, including ethnicity, age, and gender. This research may indeed be relevant to both youth identity and language dialect studies in broader international settings. After all, peoples around the globe continue to adjust to new identities, homes, behaviors, lifestyles, priorities, and abilities in unfamiliar, confusing, or conflicting living environments as global and national boundaries shift in light of new political realities. People migrate for many reasons, many being financial or political in nature. In these possible studies, more methodological approaches can also be used. For instance, with the development of communicative technology, discourse analysis of youth's interactions

through social media can be helpful to understanding their daily identity practices and (trans)formations. The method of Photovoice, designed to facilitate participants' awareness and reflection on their lives through examination of photographic images taken and interpreted by participants, might also give youth discourse power to voice their identity claims and queries. In addition, different from youths involuntarily moving to the Mainland, voluntary Taiwanese transmigrant youths, mostly college students, could offer a comparative study enabling us to better understand the subjectivity of diverse transmigrants in identity dynamics.

With the growth of cross-Strait student exchanges, another parallel and comparative research investigating the cross-Strait experiences of Chinese exchange college students studying in Taiwan could be conducted to explore the influences of the young generation's cross-Strait interactions on China-Taiwan future relations. Importantly, another longitudinal study could be conducted to track Taiwanese students' future trajectories so as to understand the influences of their transmigration experiences at their adolescent age, not only on their future identity development, but also on other aspects of their lives. Related scholarship might address the ways in which young people, as third culture kids, potentially encounter "reverse cultural shock" when they move back to Taiwan (Fail*,* et al., 2004; Sussman, 2000). And importantly, the question remains as to whether youths with transmigrant experiences tend to build up their cosmopolitan identity and global perspectives (Gunesch, 2004; Hughes, 2009), their tolerance of others, and maintain their efforts to better understand different peoples and attitudes by virtue of their cross-Strait experience. These personal attributes are indeed considered as key to the development of cross-cultural or international cooperation as well as human relations in all societies, and transmigrant youths may be in a better position to "face the future" than those who have never lived abroad.

Bibliography

Althusser, L. (1971). Ideology and ideological state apparatus (notes towards an investigation). In L. Althusser, *Lenin and philosophy and other essays* (pp. 127-186). New York, NY: Monthly Review Press.

Appadurai, A. (1996). Sovereignty without territoriality: Notes for a postnational geography. In P. Yaeger (Ed.), *The geography of identity.* (pp.40-58). Ann Arbor, MI: the University of Michigan.

Apple, M. W. (1979). *Ideology and curriculum*. London: Routledge and Kegan Paul.

Apple, M. W. (1982). *Education and power.* London: Routledge and Kegan Paul.

Apple, M. W. (1993a). What post-modernists forget: Cultural capital and official knowledge. *Curriculum Studies, 1*(3), 301-316.

Apple, M. W. (1993b). Thinking "Right" in the USA: Ideological transformations in an age of conservatism. In R. Lingard, J. Knight, & P. Porter (Eds.), *Schooling Reform in Hard Times* (pp. 49-62). London: Falmer Press.

Apple, M. W. (2000). *Official knowledge.* New York, NY: Routledge.

Apple, M. W. (2002). Interrupting the right: On doing critical educational work in conservative times. *Symploke*, *10*(1), 133-152.

Ballantine, J. H, & Spade, J. Z. (2008). *Schools and society: A sociological approach to education* (3rd ed.). Los Angeles, CA: Pine Forge Press.

Barth, F. (1969). *Ethnic groups and boundaries.* Boston, MA: Little, Brown.

Basch, L., Schiller, N. G., & Blanc, C. S. (1994). *Nations unbound: Transnational projects, postcolonial predicaments and deterritorialized nation-states.* New York, NY: Gordon and Breach.

Bauman, Z. (2000). *Liquid Modernity.* Cambridge: Polity Press.

Bennett, J. M. (1993). Cultural marginality: Identity issues in intercultural training. *Education for the Intercultural Experience*, *2*, 109-135.

Berger, P., & Luckman, T. (1966). *The social construction of reality: A treatise in the sociology of knowledge.* Garden City, NY: Anchor Books.

Berry, J. W. (2005). Acculturation: Living successfully in two cultures. *International Journal of Intercultural Relations*, *29*(6), 697-712.

Berry, J. W., Phinney, J. S., Sam, D. L., & Vedder, P. (2006). Immigrant youth: Acculturation, identity, and adaptation. *Applied Psychology*, *55*(3), 303-332.

Berry, J. W., & Sam, D. (1997). Acculturation and adaptation. In J.W. Berry, M.H. Segall, & C. Kagitcibasi (Eds.), *Handbook of cross-cultural psychology: Social behavior and applications* (2nd ed., Vol. 3, pp.291-326). Boston, MA: Allyn & Bacon.

Berstein, S. (1993). *The Republic of De Gaulle 1958-1969*. New York, NY: Cambridge University Press.

Berstein, S. (2000). *The Pompidou Years, 1969-1974*. New York, NY: Cambridge University Press.

Bicchieri, C. (2006). *The grammar of society: The emergence and dynamics of social norms.* New York, NY: Cambridge University Press.

Blumer, H. (1969). *Symbolic interactionism: Perspective and method*. Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice-Hall.

Bourdieu, P. (1984). *Distinction: A social critique of the judgement of taste*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.

Bourdieu, P. (1986). The forms of capital. In J. G. Richardson (Ed.), *Handbook of theory and research for sociology of education* (pp. 241-258). NewYork, NY: Greenwood.

Bourdieu, P. (1994). Rethinking the state: Genesis and structure of the bureaucratic field. *Sociological Theory, 12*(1), 1-18.

Bourdieu, P., & Passeron, J. C. (1977). *Reproduction in education, society and culture.* London: Sage Publications.

Bowman, D. H. (2001). Identities blur for 'Third-Culture Kids.' *Education Week, 20*(34), 8.

Brettell, C. B. (2003). *Anthropology and migration: Essays on transnationalism, ethnicity, and identity.* Walnut Creek, CA: Altamira Press.

Brettell, C. B., & Hollifield, J. F. (Eds.). (2008). *Migration theory: Talking across disciplines* (2nd ed.). New York, NY: Routledge.

Brown, M. J. (2004). *Is Taiwan Chinese? The Impact of culture, power, and migration on changing identities* (Vol. 2). Berkeley: University of California Press.

Brown, A. D. (2014). Identities and identity work in organizations. *International Journal of Management Reviews, 17*(1), 20-40.

Brubaker, R., & Cooper, F. (2000). Beyond "identity". *Theory and Society*, *29*(1), 1-47.

Bucholtz, M., & Hall, K. (2004). Theorizing identity in language and sexuality research. *Language in Society*, *33*(4), 469-515.

Buruma, I. (1996). Taiwan's new nationalists. *Foreign Affairs*, *75*(4), 77-91.

Carspecken, P. F. (1996). *Critical ethnography in educational research: A theoretical and practical guide*. London: Psychology Press.

Carspecken, P. F. (1999). *Four scenes for posing the question of meaning and other essays in critical philosophy and critical methodology.* New York, NY: Peter Lang.

Carspecken, P. F., & Cordeiro, P. A. (1995). Being, doing, and becoming: Textual interpretations of social identity and a case study. *Qualitative Inquiry*, *1*(1), 87-109.

Castells, M. (1997). *The power of identity* (Vol. 2). Oxford (UK): Blackwell.

Castles, S., & Miller, M. J. (2003). *The age of migration: International population movements in the modern world* (3rd ed.). New York, NY: *Guilford Press*.

Chang, F. Y. (2014, May 15). Who is in the way of Taiwanese students from studying aboard? [Blog post]. Retrieved from http://blog.chinatide.net/fangyuan/?p=363

Chen, K. R., & Wu, J. H. (2006). Homeland or strange land? Probe identification images of Taiwan businessmen's children through their learning experiences. *Journal of National Taiwan Normal University, 51*(2), 173-193.

Chiang, Y. Q. (2008). *拒絕融化的冰：作為政治社會化機制的東莞台校* [A study of Dongguan Taiwanese school as a mechanism for political socialization]. Paper presented at The 3rd Annual Conference of Research on Taiwan Businessmen. Taichung, Taiwan.

China Education and Research Network (2013, May 7). Retrieved from http://www.edu.cn/gao_kao_1051/20130507/t20130507_939505.shtml

Christensen, P. N., Rothgerber, H., Wood, W., & Matz, D. C. (2004). Social norms and identity relevance: A motivational approach to normative behavior. *Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin*, *30*(10), 1295-1309.

Chu, C. (1999). *赴大陸投資台商與台籍外派幹部子女教育問題之研究：以上海市與廈門市為例* [A research on the education issues of Taiwanese businessmen's children in mainland China: Using Shanghai and Xiamen as examples] (Unpublished master's thesis). Graduate Institute of China Study, Culture-Education Division, Tamkang University, Taipei County, Taiwan.

Chu, Y. H., & Lin, J. W. (2001). Political development in 20th-century Taiwan: State-building, regime transformation and the construction of national identity. *The China Quarterly*, *165*, 102-129.

Clifford, J. (1994). Diasporas. *Cultural anthropology*, *9*(3), 302-338.

Commission of Recruiting Chinese Students in Taiwan (2014). Retrieved from http://rusen.stust.edu.tw/cpx/Data.html

Corcuff, S. (Ed.). (2002). *Memories of the future: National identity issues and the search for a new Taiwan*. Armonk, NY: M.E. Sharpe.

Corcuff, S. (2005). History textbooks, identity politics, and ethnic introspection in Taiwan: the June 1997 knowing Taiwan textbooks controversy and the questions it raised on the various approaches to "Han" identity. In E. Vickers, & A. Jones (Eds.), *History education and national identity in East Asia* (pp. 133-169). New York, NY: Routledge.

Coupland, N. (2014). Language change, social change, sociolinguistic change: A meta-commentary. *Journal of Sociolinguistics*, *18*(2), 277-286.

Crawford, K. (2000). Researching the ideological and political role of the history textbook-issues and Methods. *International Journal of Historical Learning, Teaching and Research*, *1*(1), 81-91.

Curran, M. J. (2003). *Across the water: The acculturation and health of Irish people in London*. Dublin: Trinity College, and Allen Library.

De Ruyter, D., & Conroy, J. (2002). The formation of identity: the importance of ideals. *Oxford Review of Education*, *28*(4), 509-522.Deng, J. B. (2002). Between remoteness and nearness: Chinese employees and Taiwanese entrepreneurs in Mainland China. *Taiwanese Sociology, 3*, 211-251.

Delanty, G. (2000). *Citizenship in a global age: Society, culture, politics*. Buckingham: Open University Press.

Deng, J. B. (2005). *我們是誰？跨社會流動下中國大陸台商的認同* [Who are we? The identity of Taiwanese businesspersons in China under social flow]. Paper presented at the International Conference of Transborder and Diaspora: Citizenship, Identity and Resistance, Taipei, Taiwan.

Dittmer, L. (2005). Taiwan's aim-inhibited quest for identity and the China factor. *Journal of Asian and African Studies*, *40*(1-2), 71-90.

Downie, R. D. (1976). *Re-entry experiences and identity formation of third culture experienced dependent American youth: An exploratory study* (Order No. 7627089). Available from ProQuest Dissertations & Theses A&I. (302795515). Retrieved from http://ezproxy.lib.indiana.edu/login?url=http://search.proquest.com/docview/302795515?accountid=11620

Duff, P. A. (2002). The discursive co-construction of knowledge, identity, and difference: An ethnography of communication in the high school mainstream. *Applied Linguistics*, *23*(3), 289-322.

Erikson, E. H. (1968). *Identity: Youth and crisis*. New York, NY: W. W. Norton and Company.

Fail, H., Thompson, J., & Walker, G. (2004). Belonging, identity and Third Culture Kids Life histories of former international school students. *Journal of Research in International Education*, *3*(3), 319-338.

Fairbrother, G. P. (2003). The effects of political education and critical thinking on Hong Kong and Mainland Chinese university students' national attitudes. *British Journal of Sociology of Education*, *24*(5), 605-620.

Fairbrother, G. P. (2004). Patriotic education in a Chinese middle school. In W. O. Lee, D. Grossman, K. Kennedy, & G. Fairbrother (Eds.), *Citizenship education in Asia and the Pacific* (Vol. 14, pp. 157-174). Netherlands: Springer Netherlands.

Fairclough, N., & Wodak, R. (1997). Critical discourse analysis. In T. A. Van Dijk (Ed.), *Discourse as social interaction* (Vol. 2, pp. 258-284). London: Sage.

Faist, T. (1997). The crucial meso-level. In T. Hammar, G. Brochmann, K. Tamas, & T. Faist (Eds.), *International migration, immobility and development: Multidisciplinary perspectives* (pp.187-217). Oxford: Berg.

Faist, T. (2000). Transnationalization in international migration: Implications for the study of citizenship and culture. *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, *23*(2), 189-222.

Faist, T. (2010). Towards transnational studies: World theories, transnationalisation and changing institutions. *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*, *36*(10), 1665-1687.

Fawcett, J. T. (1989). Networks, linkages, and migration systems. *International Migration Review, 23*(3), 671-680.

Fernandes, J. V. (1988). From the theories of social and cultural reproduction to the theory of resistance. *British Journal of Sociology of Education*, *9*(2), 169-180.

Foner, N., Rumbaut, R. G., & Gold, S. J. (Eds.). (2000). *Immigration research for a new century: Multidisciplinary perspectives*. New York, NY: Russell Sage Foundation.

Freire, P. (1974). *Education for liberation and community: Two articles by Paulo Freire, and reports arising from his 1974 Australian visit*. Australian Council of Churches, Commission on Christian Education.

Gaw, K. F. (2000). Reverse culture shock in students returning from overseas. *International Journal of Intercultural Relations, 24*(1), 83-104.

Geng, S., & Lin, C. S. (2005). 全球化背景下的兩岸關係與台商角色 [Cross-strait relations and the role of Taiwanese businesspersons in the era of globalization]. *Mainland China Studies, 48*(1), 1-28.

Ghuman, P. A. (1997). A study of identities of Asian origin primary school children. *Early Child Development and Care*, *132*(1), 65-74.

Gillies, W. D. (1998). Children third on the move culture kids. *Childhood Education*, *75*(1), 36-38.

Giroux, H. A. (1983). Theories of reproduction and resistance in the new sociology of education: A critical analysis. *Harvard Educational Review*, *53*(3), 257-293.

Giroux, H. A. (1989). Frankly speaking: Rethinking education reform in the age of George Bush. *Preventing School Failure: Alternative Education for Children and Youth*, *34*(1), 42-45.

Giroux, H. A. (2000). Postmodern education and disposable youth. In P. P. Trifonas (Ed.), *Revolutionary pedagogies: Cultural politics, instituting education, and the discourse of theory* (pp. 174-195). New York, NY: Routledge.

Goffman, E. (1959). *The presentation of self in everyday life.* Garden City, NY: Anchor.

Gold, T., Guthrie, D., & Wank, D. (2002). An introduction to the study of *Guanxi*. In T. Gold, D. Guthrie, & D. Wank (Eds.), *Social connections in China: Institutions, culture, and the changing nature of Guanxi* (pp. 3-19). New York, NY: Cambridge University Press.

Gries, P. H. (2005). Social psychology and the identity-conflict debate: Is a 'China Threat' inevitable?. *European Journal of International Relations*, *11*(2), 235-265.

Guarnizo, L. E. (1997). The emergence of a transnational social formation and the mirage of return migration among Dominican transmigrants. *Identities Global Studies in Culture and Power*, *4*(2), 281-322.

Guarnizo, L. E. (2003). The economics of transnational Living. *International Migration Review*, *37*(3), 666-699.

Gunesch, K. (2004). Education for cosmopolitanism: Cosmopolitanism as a personal cultural identity model for and within international education. *Journal of Research in International Education*, *3*(3), 251-275.

Hall, S. (1996). Introduction: Who needs identity? In S. Hall, & P. D. Gay (Eds.). *Questions of cultural identity* (pp. 1-17). London: Sage.

Hao, S. Y., (2010). Experience and enlightenments from foreign cultural heritage protection. *Journal of Kunming University of Science and Technology (Social Sciences)*, *4*, 022.

Harrison, M. (2009). How to speak about oneself: Theory and identity in Taiwan. In C. Berry, N. Liscutin, & J. D. Mackintosh (Eds.), *Cultural studies and cultural industries in Northeast Asia: What a difference a region makes* (pp.51-70). Hong Kong: Hong Kong University Press.

Hsiau, A. C. (2000). *Contemporary Taiwanese cultural nationalism.* London: Routledge.

Hsiao, H. H. M. (2001). Sociocultural transformation in Taiwan since the 1980s. In C. C. Mai, & C. S. Shi (Eds.), *Taiwan's economic success since 1980* (pp.156-208). Cheltenham: E. Elgar.

Hsing, Y. T. (1998). Making capitalism in China. *The Taiwan connection.* New York & Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Hu, W. S. (2006). Origin, history and reality of national identity for Taiwan populace. *Journal of Beijing Union University (Humanities and Social Sciences)*, *2*, 018.

Huang, H. F. (1993). *Language, society, and ethnic identity*. Taipei: Wenhe.

Huang, S. (2010). *Re-mediating identities in the imagined homeland: Taiwanese migrants in china* (Order No. 3409698). Available from ProQuest Dissertations & Theses A&I. (734390124). Retrieved from http://ezproxy.lib.indiana.edu/login?url=http://search.proquest.com/docview/734390124?accountid=11620

Hughes, C. (2009). International education and the international baccalaureate diploma porgramme: A view from the perspective of postcolonial thought. *Journal of Research in International Education, 8*(2), 123 - 141.

Hugo, G. (1994). Migration and the family. *Occasional papers series for the international year of the family: 12.* Vienna: United Nations.

Hung, J., & Tung, C. (2011). Contribution of Taiwanese businesspeople towards the economic development of China: 1998-2008. *Graduate Institute of Development Studies*. National Chengchi University. Retrieved from http://www3.nccu.edu.tw/~ctung/Documents/W-B-b-31.pdf

Jacob, J. T. (2005). Direct flights take off cross-Straits relations remain grounded. *China Report*, *41*(3), 331-339.

Jensen, A. L. (2003). Coming of age in a multicultural world: Globalization and adolescent cultural identity formation. *Applied Developmental Science*,*7*(3), 189-196.

Kaufert, J. M. (1977). Situational identity and ethnicity among Ghanaian University students. *The Journal of Modern African Studies*, *15*(1), 126-135.

Kearney, M. (1995). The local and the global: The anthropology of globalization and transnationalism. *Annual Review of Anthropology* (24), 547-565.

Kelly, P., & Lusis, T. (2006). Migration and the transnational habitus: Evidence from Canada and the Philippines. *Environment and Planning A*, *38*(5), 831-847.

Kenedy, R. A. (2010). The Jewish diaspora from France to Montréal: Situational identity and multi-centred Diasporas. In L. D. Pretto, G. Macri, & C. D. Wong, *Diasporas: Revisiting and rediscovering* (pp.1-17). Oxford: Inter-Disciplinary Press.

Keng, S., Chen, L. H., & Huang, K. B. (2006). Sense, sensitivity, and sophistication in shaping the future of cross-Strait relations. *Issues and Studies*, *42*(4), 23-66.

Khagram, S., & Levitt, P. (2008). Constructing transnational studies. *Pries (2008)*, 21-39.

Khanlou, N. (2005). Cultural identity as part of youth's self-concept in multicultural settings. *International Journal of Mental Health and Addiction, 3*(2), 1-14.

Kidder, L. H. (1992). Requirements for being "Japanese": Stories of returnees. *International Journal of Intercultural Relations, 16*, 383-393.

Killian, C., & Johnson, C. (2006). "I'm Not an Immigrant!": Resistance, redefinition, and the role of resources in identity work. *Social Psychology Quarterly*, *69*(1), 60-80.

Krippendorff, K. (2004). *Content analysis: An introduction to its methodology* (2nd ed.). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.

Lai, I. (2005). *A comparative study of the descriptions of historical figures in Taiwan and Mainland China's junior high school history textbooks* (Unpublished master's thesis). Graduate Institute of China Studies, Tamkang University, Taipei County, Taiwan.

Lall, M., & Vickers, E. (Eds.). (2009). *Education as a political tool in Asia*. London: Routledge.

Lam, H., & Selmer, J. (2004). Are former “third-culture kids” the ideal business expatriates?. *Career Development International*, *9*(2), 109-122.

Lareau, A. (1989). *Home advantage: Social class and parental intervention in elementary education*. London: Falmer.

Law, W. W. (2002). Education Reform in Taiwan: A search for a 'national' identity through democratisation and Taiwanisation. *Compare*, *32*(1), 61-81.

Lee, W. C. (2005). Taiwan’s cultural reconstruction movement: Identity politics and collective action since 2000. *Issues and Studies*, *41*(1), 1-51.

Leng, T. K. (2004). Global networking and the new division of labor across the Taiwan Straits. In F. Mengin (Ed.), *Cyber China: Reshaping national identities in the age of information* (pp. 185-203). New York, NY: Palgrave Macmillan.

Levinson, B. A. (2001). *We are all equal: Student culture and identity at a Mexican secondary school, 1988-1998.* Durham, NC: Duke University Press.

Levinson, B. A., & Holland, D. C. (1996). The cultural production of the educated person: An introduction. In B. A. Levinson, D. E. Foley, & D. C. Holland (Eds.), *The cultural production of the educated person: Critical ethnographies of schooling and local practice* (pp.1-54). New York: SUNY Press.

Levitt, P. (2001). *The transnational villagers*. Berkeley, CA: University of California Press.

Levitt, P. (2005). Building bridges: What migration scholarship and cultural sociology have to say to each other. *Poetics, 33*(1), 49-62.

Levitt, P. (2011). A transnational gaze. *Migraciones Internacionales*, *6*(1), 9-44.

Levitt, P., & Jaworsky, B. N. (2007). Transnational migration studies: Past developments and future trends. *Annual Review of Sociology*, *33*, 129-156.

Levitt, P., & Schiller, N. G. (2004). Conceptualizing simultaneity: A transnational social field perspective on society. *International Migration Review*, *38*(145), 595-629.

Lin, C. J., & Chang, M. L., & Chang, M. M. (2002). Taiwan businessmen's children schools in People's Republic of China: A case study of Dongguan. *Educational Research and Information, 10*(4), 19-40.

Lin, P. T. (2005). *增加或降低兩岸經貿關係：一個認同與利益考量的討論* [Increasing or reducing cross-Strait economic ties: An identity interest analysis]. Paper presented at Taiwan's Elections and Democratization Study, International Academic Conference, Taipei: Center for institution and behavior studies.

Lin, W. L. (2006a). *The strategic symbiosis between us Asian policy and Taiwanese nationalism* (Unpublished doctoral dissertation). Durham University, United Kingdom.Li, W., & Teixeira, C. (2007). Introduction: Immigrants and transnational experiences in world cities. *GeoJournal*, *68*(2-3), 93-102.

Lin, P. (2006b). *"tong-wen-tong-zhong"? The cultural integration of Taiwanese in China.* Paper presented at the 3rd Annual Conference on Transborder and Diaspora, Governance, Survival, and Movement, Taipei, Taiwan.

Lin, Z. S. (2002). *外來動力的「制度創新」：「東莞台商協會」成立「台商學校」之研究* [A study of how Taiwan Businessmen Association Dongguan established Taiwan Businessmen's School] (Unpublished master's thesis). Graduate Institute of East Asia Studies, National Chengchi University, Taipei, Taiwan.

Liu, S. J. (1999). 台商子女在大陸就學現況之調查 [A research on how children of Taiwanese businesspeople receive their education in mainland China]. Mainland Affairs Council, Executive Yuan, Taipei, Taiwan.

Liu, S. J. (2003). 中共對台商子弟之教育政策 [A study of People's Republic of China's education policy to Taiwan businessmen's children]. *Prospect and Exploration, 1*(4), 56-72.

Liu, M., & Hung, L. C. (2002). Identity issues in Taiwan's history curriculum. *International Journal of Educational Research*, *37*(6), 567-586.

Liu, M. H., Hung, L, C., & Vickers, E. (2005). Identity Issues in Taiwan's history curriculum. In E. Vickers, & A. Jones (Eds.), *History education and national identity in East Asia* (pp. 101-131). NY: Routledge.

Liu, Y. (2008). The construction of patriotic discourse in Chinese basal readers. *Analysing Identities in Discourse*, *28*, 57.

Lo, S. H. (2002). Diaspora regime into nation: Mediating hybrid nationhood in Taiwan. *Javnost - The Public, 9*(1), 65-83.

Mainland Affairs Council (2014). Report of overseas workers in the latest 5 years. Retrieved from http://lis.ly.gov.tw/lydb/uploadn/103/1030421/22.pdf

Massey, D. S., Arango, J., Hugo, G., Kouaouci, A., Pellegrino, A., & Taylor, J. E. (1993). Theories of international migration: A review and appraisal. *Population and Development Review, 19*(3), 431-466.

McCall, G. (2003). The me and the not-me. In P. Burke, T. Owens, R. Serpe, & P. Thoits (Eds.), *Advances in identity theory and research* (pp. 11-25): New York, NY: Kluwer Academic/Plenum Publishers.

Mitchell, K. (2007). Geographies of identity, the intimate of cosmopolitan. *Progress in Human Geography, 31*(5), 706-720.

National Academy of Educational Research (2014, December). Retrieved from http://review.naer.edu.tw/Bulletin/FA.php

Ong, A. (1999). *Flexible citizenship: The cultural logics of transnationality*. Durham, NC: Duke University Press.

Ong, A., & Nonini, D. (1997). Toward a cultural politics of diaspora and transnationalism. In A. Ong, & D. Nonini (Eds.), *Underground empires: The cultural politics of modern Chinese transnationalism* (pp. 323-332). New York, NY: Routledge.

O'Reilly, K. (2012). *International migration and social theory*. Basingstoke: Palgrave.

Paquette, J. (1991). *Social purpose and schooling: Alternative, agendas and issues.* London: Falmer Press.

Park, R. E. (1928). Human migration and the marginal man. *American Journal of Sociology, 33*, 881-893.

Pedraza, S. (2006). Assimilation or transnationalism? Conceptual models of the immigrant experience in America. *Cultural Psychology of Immigrants*, 33-54.

Perkins, H. (2002). Social norms and the prevention of alcohol misuse in collegiate contexts. *Journal of Studies on Alcohol and Drugs*, (14), 164-172.

Persons, S. (1987). *Ethnic studies at Chicago, 1905-45*. Champaign, IL: University of Illinois Press.

Pingel, F. (1999). *UNESCO Guidebook on Textbook Research and Textbook Revision.* France: UNESCO.

Pollock, D. C. (1998). Being a third-culture kid: A profile. In P. Echerd, & A. Arathoon (Eds.), *Understanding and nurturing the missionary family* (Vol.1, 241-252). Pasadena, CA: William Carey Library.

Pollock, D. C., & Van Reken, R. E. (2009). *Third culture kids: Growing up among worlds*. Boston, MA: Nicholas Brealey Publishing.

Portes, A. (1999). Conclusion: Towards a new world-the origins and effects of transnational activities. *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, *22*(2), 463-477.

Portes, A. (2000). The two meanings of social capital. *Sociological Forum, 15*(1), 1-12.

Portes, A. (2001). Introduction: the Debates and significance of immigrant transnationalism. *Global Networks, 1*(3), 181-193.

Portes, A. (2003). Conclusion: Theoretical convergencies and empirical evidence in the study of immigrant transnationalism. *International Migration Review*, *37*(3), 874-892.

Portes, A., Guarnizo, L. E., & Landolt, P. (1999). The study of transnationalism: Pitfalls and promise of an emergent research field. *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, *22*(2), 217-237.

Portes, A., & Rumbaut, R. G. (2001). *Legacies: The story of the immigrant second generation*. Berkeley, CA: University of California Press.

Portes, A., & Sensenbrenner, J. (1993). Embeddedness and immirgatoin: Notes on the social determinants of economic action. *The American Journal of Sociology, 98*(6), 1320-1350.

Portes, A., & Zhou, M. (1993). The new second generation: Segmented assimilation and its variants. *The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, *530*(1), 74-96.

Pratt, M. (1992). *Imperial eyes: Travel writing and transculturation.* London: Routledge.

Rigger, S. (2006). Taiwan's rising rationalism: Generations, politics, and "Taiwanese nationalism". Washington D. C.: East-West Center Washington.

Rogers, J., & Ward, C. (1993). Expectation-experience discrepancies and psychological adjustment during cross-cultural reentry. *International Journal of Intercultural Relations*, *17*(2), 185-196.

Ross, H. (1993). *China learns English: Language teaching and social change in the People's Republic China.* New Haven, CT: Yale University Press.

Rouse, R. (1992). Making sense of settlement: Class transformation, cultural struggle, and transnationalism among Mexican migrants in the United States. *Annals of the New York Academy of Sciences, 645*(1), 25-52.

Rubin, M., & Hewstone, M. (1998). Social identity theory's self-esteem hypothesis: A review and some suggestions for clarification. *Personality and Social Psychology Review*, *2*(1), 40-62.

Rules for Implementation of The Law of The People's Republic of China on Protection of Investments by Taiwan Compatriots [中華人民共和國台商同胞投資保護法實施細則] (2011, January 6). Retrieved from http://www.gwytb.gov.cn/tbqy/protect/detail/201101/t20110106_1678322.htm

Rumbaut, R. G. (1994). The crucible within: Ethnic identity, self-esteem, and segmented assimilation among children of immigrants. *International Migration Review*, *28*(3), 748-794.

Ryutov, T., & Neuman, C. (2002). Situational identity: A person-centered identity management approach. *Identity, 2*, 3.

Sassen, S. (1998). The de facto transnationalizing of immigration policy. In C. Joppke (Ed.), *Challenge to the Nation-State: Immigration in Western Europe and the United States* (pp.49-85). Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Schiller, N. G. (1997). The situation of transnational studies. *Identities: Global Studies in Culture and Power, 4*(2), 155-166.

Schiller, N. G., Basch, L., & Blanc, C. S. (1992). Transnationalism: A new analytic framework for understanding migration. *Annals of the New York Academy of Sciences*, *645*(1), 1-24.

Schiller, N. G., Basch, L., & Blanc, C. S. (1995). From immigrant to transmigrant: Theorizing transnational migration. *Anthropological quarterly, 68*(1), 48-63.

Schiller, N. G., & Fouron, G. (1990). "Everywhere we go, We are in danger": Ti Manno and the emergence of a Haitian transnational identity. *American Ethnologist*, *17*(2), 329-347.

Shankar, S. (2011). Style and language use among youth of the new immigration: Formations of race, ethnicity, gender, and class in everyday practice. *Identities*, *18*(6), 646-671.

Shen, H. H. (2005). 'The first Taiwanese wives' and 'the Chinese mistresses': The international division of labor in familial and intimate relations across the Taiwan Strait. *Global networks*, *5*(4), 419-437.

Sheng, H. (1997). *A comparative analysis of major events in modern history in Taiwan and Mainland China's junior high school history textbooks* (Unpublished master's thesis). Graduate Institute of China Studies, Tamkang University, Taipei County, Taiwan.

Shibutani, T., & Kwan, K. M. (1965). *Ethnic stratification: A comparative approach.* New York, NY: Macmillan.

Sjaastad, L. A. (1962). The costs and returns of human migration. *The Journal of Political Economy, 70*(5), 80-93.

Sklair, L. (1991). *Sociology of the global system*. Baltimore, MD: The Johns Hopkins University Press.

Smart, A., & Smart, J. (1998). Transnational social networks and negotiated identities in interactions between Hong Kong and China. *Transnationalism from below*, *6*, 103-29.

Smith, R. C. (1997). Transnational migration, assimilation, and political community. In M. E. Crahan, & A. Vourvoulias-Bush (Eds.), *The City and the World: New York's Global Future* (pp.110-132). New York: Columbia University.

Smith, R. C. (2006). *Mexican New York: Transnational lives of new immigrants*. Berkeley, CA: University of California Press.

Somerville, K. (2008). Transnational belonging among second generation youth: Identity in a globalized world. *Journal of Social Sciences*, *10*(1), 23-33.

Stark, O., & Bloom, D. E. (1985). The new economics of labor migration. *The American Economic Review, 75*(2), 173-178.

Stets, J. E., & Burke, P. J. (2000). Identity theory and social identity theory. *Social Psychology Quarterly, 63*(3), 224-237.

Strauss, A. L. (1969). *Mirrors and masks: The search for identity*. Piscataway, NJ: Transaction Publishers.

Stryker, S. (1980). *Symbolic interactionism: A social structural version*. Menlo Park, CA: Benjamin/Cummings Publishing Company.

Stryker, S. (1987). The vitalization of symbolic interactionism. *Social Psychology Quarterly*, *50*(1), 83-94.

Su, Y. C. (2006). Political ideology and social studies curricula in Taiwan. *Asia-Pacific Journal of Teacher Education*, *34*(3), 353-364.

Sussman, N. M. (2000). The dynamic nature of cultural identity throughout cultural transitions: Why home is not so sweet. *Personality and Social Psychology Review*, *4*(4), 355-373.

Suárez-Orozco, M. M., Suárez-Orozco, C., & Qin-Hilliard, D. (Eds.). (2005). *The new immigration: An interdisciplinary reader*. New York, NY: Brunner-Routledge.

Taifel, H. (1972). La categorization sociale (Social categorization). *Introduction a la Psychologie*, *1*, 272-302.

Tajfel, H. (1978). *Differentiation between social groups: Studies in the social psychology of intergroup relations*. London: Academic Press.

Tajfel, H. (Ed.). (1982). *Social identity and intergroup relations.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Tajfel, H., & Turner, J. G. (1986). Social identity theory of intergroup behavior. In S. W orchel, & W. G. Austin (Eds.), *Psychology of intergroup relations* (pp. 7-24). Chicago, IL: Nelson.

Tao, M. (2009). *台灣移民在中國的子女教養和學校選擇* [How Taiwanese immigrants educate their children in mainland China and the school options available to them] (Unpublished master's thesis). Institute of Sociology National Tsing Hua University, Hsin-Chu, Taiwan.

Tartakovsky, E. (2009). Cultural identities of adolescent immigrants: A three-year longitudinal study including the pre-migration period. *Journal of Youth and Adolescence*, *38*(5), 654-671.

The Series of Elementary Education Textbooks Editorial Committee (2008). *The report of the selection of elementary and secondary school textbooks.* China: People's Education Press.

Thiem, C. (2009). Thinking through education: The geographies of contemporary educational restructuring. *Progress in Human Geography, 33*(2), 154-173.

Tomlinson, J. (1999). *Globalization and culture*. Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press.

Tsang, A. K. T., Irving, H., Alaggia, R., Chau, S. B., & Benjamin, M. (2003). Negotiating ethnic identity In Canada the case of the "Satellite Children." *Youth and Society*, *34*(3), 359-384.

Tse, T. K. (2007). Remaking Chinese identity: Hegemonic struggles over national education in post-colonial Hong Kong. *International Studies in Sociology of Education*, *17*(3), 231-248.

Tsuda, T. (2000). Acting Brazilian in Japan: Ethnic resistance among return migrants. *Ethnology, 39*(1), 55-71.

Uehara, A. (1986). The nature of American student reentry adjustment and perceptions of the sojourn experience. *International Journal of Intercultural Relations*, *10*(4), 415-438.

Urry, J. (2000). *Sociology beyond societies: Mobilities for the twenty-first century*. London: Sage.

Useem, R. H. (2001). TCK 'mother' pens history of field. Retrieved from http://www.tckworld.com/useem/art1.html

Useem, R. H., & Downie, R. D. (1976). Third-Culture Kids. *Today's Education*, *65*(3), 103-105.

Useem, J., Useem, R., & Donoghue, J. (1963). Men in the middle of the third culture: The roles of American and non-Western people in cross-cultural administration. *Human Organization*, *22*(3), 169-179.

U.S. Treasury (2015, January). Major Foreign Holders of Treasury Securities. Retrieved from http://www.treasury.gov/ticdata/Publish/mfh.txt

Vertovec, S. (1999). Conceiving and researching transnationalism. *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, *22*(2), 447-462.

Vertovec, S. (2001). Transnationalism and identity. *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies, 27*(4), 573-582.

Vickers, E., & Jones, A. (2005). *History education and national identity in East Asia.* New York, NY: Routledge.

Wachman, A. M. (1994). *Taiwan: National identity and democratization*. Armonk, NY: M. E. Sharpe.Wang, H. L. (2007). Nation, state, and cross-Strait relations: Perspectives from Taiwan. *Macalester International*, *18*(1), 45-75.

Warner, M. (1999). Social capital construction and the role of the local state. *Rural Sociology*, *64*(3), 373-393.

Wang, I. (2008). The relations between expatriate management and the mentality and adjustment of expatriates. *Social Behavior and Personality: an international journal*, *36*(7), 865-882.

Wang, K. S. (2003). *Constructing a nonprofit learning organization - A case study on Taiwan bussinessmen's Dongguan School* (Unpublished master's thesis). Department of Administrative Management, Shih-Hsin University, Taipei, Taiwan.

Weber, R. P. (1990). *Basic content analysis.* Newbury Park, CA: Sage.

Williams, R. (1961). *The long revolution*. London: Chatto & Windus.

Williams, R. (1989). Hegemony and the selective tradition. In C. de Castell, A. Luke, & C. Luke (Eds.), *Language, authority, and criticism: Reading on the school textbook* (pp. 56-60). London: The Famler Press.

Williams, R. (2000). *Making identity matter: Identity, society and social interaction*. Abingdon: Routledge Cavendish.

Willis, P. E. (1981). *Learning to labor: How working class kids get working class jobs*. New York, NY: Columbia University Press.

Willis, P. (1983). Cultural production and theories of reproduction. In L. Barton, & S. Walker (Eds.), *Race, class and education* (pp. 107-138). London: Croom Helm.

Wong, L. L. (1997). Globalization and transnational migration: A study of recent Chinese capitalist migration from the Asian Pacific to Canada. *International Sociology*, *12*(3), 329-351.

Wu, C. (2008). 學校行銷的理念與實踐: 以東莞臺商子弟學校為例 [The concept and practice of school marketing: A model from Taiwan 303 Businessmen's Dongguan School]. *School Administrators' Research Association, 53*, 175-191.

Wu, J. H., Chen, J. Z., & Song, M. J. (2004). *兩岸小學教師互動之研究：以東莞台商子弟學校為例* [A research on the interaction of cross-Strait elementary school teacher: Based on Taiwanese businessmen's Dongguan school as an example]. Paper presented at the 1st Conference on Cross-Strait Culture and Education, Taipei, Taiwan.

Wu, N. (2005). Romance and bread: A preliminary study of the identity change in Taiwan. *Taiwanese Political Science Review, 9*(2), 5-39.

Wu, R. Y. (2009). The review and prospect of Taiwan and China trading relationship: Where does Taiwanese business go? Taiwan Thinktank, *24*. Retrieved from http://www.taiwanthinktank.org/page/chinese_attachment_1/2135/__.pdf

Yang, C. (2003). A comparative study of Taiwan related information documented in Taiwan and Mainland China's history textbooks. *Historical Monthly*, *184*, 66-74.

Yang, C. (2004). A comparative study of Taiwan and Mainland China's junior high school history textbooks. *Tamkang History Review*, *14*, 59-70.

Yuen, T., & Byram, M. (2007). National identity, patriotism and studying politics in schools: A case study in Hong Kong. *Compare: A Journal of Comparative and International Education*, *37*(1), 23-36.

Zang, S. Y. (2005, September). Are you tempted to study abroad in China? Career. Retrieved from http://blog.career.com.tw/managing/default_content.aspx?blogid=143

Zhao, Y. (1998). *Media, market, and democracy in China: Between the party line and the bottom line*. Champaign, IL: University of Illinois Press.

2. 法律：憲法是國家的根本大法，內容只是就國家最根本的事項做原則性的規定，因此，還需要由立法機關制定內容較為具體的法律來實現憲法的內涵。例如：台灣地區憲法關於「國民教育」只原則性規定「人民有受國民教育的權利與義務」，而為了落實憲法，國民教育法就具體規定「凡六歲至十五歲之國民應受國民教育」。

圖 13-4　法律位階圖

3. 命令：法律的規定雖然比憲法具體，但也不可能鉅細靡遺，因此，須由法律授權行政機關訂定法規命令，來補充法律的規定。例如：國民教育法規定「本法施行細則，由教育部定之」，教育部就可以依據此項授權而訂定國民教育法施行細則；而法規命令如果沒有法律的授權，則屬無效。

憲法、法律、命令三者，依上下位階排列如同金字塔般，下位階規範不能牴觸上位階規範。如果發生法律和命令是否牴觸憲法的疑慮時，依據台灣地區憲法規定，是由司法院大法官負責解釋。

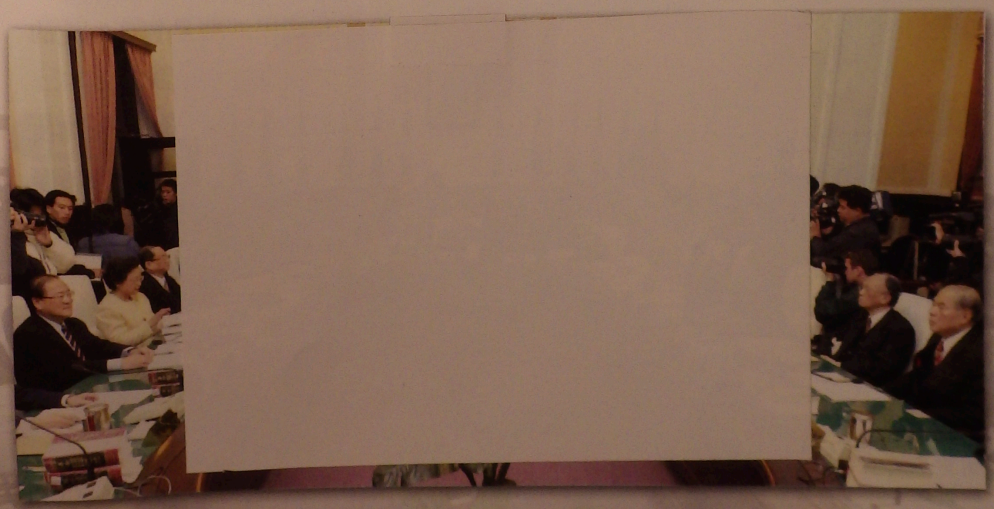


圖 13-5　司法院大法官開會情形

革政治與經濟體制。這一波學運隨即被鎮壓，[illegible]下令以為此負責，[illegible]

▲[illegible]

[illegible]民的遊行[illegible]

然而鄧小平已決心鎮壓這場學運，在經過周密的籌畫下，他下令軍隊在6月4日凌晨前清除廣場上靜坐示威的學生。軍隊動用坦克和機關槍，造成大批學生與市民的死傷。中共官方後來公布的數字，有二百人喪生，三千人受傷；但根據西方學者的估計，死亡人數為六百～一千二百人，受傷者約在六千～一萬人。

▲圖 6-26 江澤民與鄧小平親切合影

江澤民崛起 「六四天安門事件」結束後，同情學運的趙紫陽被罷黜，鄧小平起用政治局委員兼上海市委書記江澤民繼任總書記一職。江澤民繼任後，中共中央最大的目標，是在經濟上繼續改革開放，但政治上則是繼續堅持共產黨的領導。這兩個任務，江澤民均能達成，而最重要的成就，便在於持續的經濟成長，以及控制通貨膨脹不致惡化。

由於鄧小平的扶植，江澤民在 1989 年底獲得第二個重要職務—中央軍委主席，1993 年更出任國家主席，成為名義上的國家元首。到了 1996 年底，中國大陸的經濟已呈現高成長、低通膨的新氣象，大量外資湧進，出口暢旺，貿易順差迅速擴張。因此，1997 年初鄧小平過世，以江澤民為核心的體制沒有遭受嚴重衝擊，「具有中國特色的社會主義」繼續推行。

胡錦濤繼任 2002 年，江澤民開始交棒，由鄧小平欽定的胡錦濤接班，陸續接任中共中央總書記、國家主席；2005 年初，江澤民交出最後一個職務—中央軍委主席，胡錦濤集黨政軍大權於一身，中共正式進入「胡錦濤時代」。

[illegible]年代初期，已有新左派的知識分[illegible]家的專制極權和教條思想，[illegible]資本社會。一九六八年五月[illegible]濟，[illegible]他們原本毫無組織，改革，[illegible]進入學校，文化大[illegible]的失政，[illegible]長達三年[illegible]，[illegible]亡人[illegible]不過，毛澤東蟄伏幾[illegible]左派，再次運用[illegible]織「紅衛兵」，發[illegible]文化大革命」[illegible]模整肅政府官員及黨[illegible]幹部。當時的國防部[illegible]彭(1907～1971)積極擁護毛澤東，除了強化軍方對於[illegible]東的效忠外，還揀選毛澤東歷年重要講話[illegible]主席語錄。這本小冊子迅速流傳全[illegible]稱為「紅寶書」。

小百科：毛主席語錄（簡稱毛語錄）

毛主席語錄向來被視為毛澤東思想的象徵。文革時期，民眾必須在各種場合「[illegible]寶書」捏在右[illegible]，高舉過頭頻頻揮動，以示歌呼或擁戴。所謂「萬歲不離口，[illegible]不離手」。

圖IV-2-13 毛主席語錄

依據推算，「文革」期間毛語錄在海內外共發行五十多種、[illegible]字、五百多種版本，總印量超過五十億冊，堪稱二十世紀全世界最流行的書籍；在歷史上，毛語錄的印刷量應該僅次於聖經。

西方國家的新聞報導或著述，一度常暱稱毛語錄為「小紅書」(*The Little Red Book*)；到了今天，「紅寶書」果然名符其實淪為「小紅書」，人們蒐藏毛語錄往往只為了好奇心出於[illegible]時光的一點留念。從前臺灣嚴禁毛語錄，不過解嚴後，也能公開販賣或蒐藏「小紅書」。

輸出國組織（Organization of Exporting Countries，簡稱 OPEC）[illegible]國支持以色列，採取[illegible]果造成世界性石油[illegible]上漲。許多人於是放[illegible]逐漸[illegible]

[illegible]運動[illegible]

毛澤[illegible]四「六〇年代」左派思潮風行之賜，中國大力輸出[illegible]的被世界各地激進的青年，或從事農民革命的左派[illegible]，這些所謂「毛派組織」，分布在土耳其庫德族區、希臘、阿根廷、祕魯、尼泊爾、菲律賓、[illegible]等，大多以農村為根據地，迄今有些仍十分活躍。他們實行[illegible]群眾運動，甚至採取游擊戰與政府長期對抗。

毛澤東思想（或稱毛主義，Maoism）

毛澤東思想一直為中國共產黨定位成最高指導思想。在此思想下，[illegible]，即使文學、藝術、新聞、教育等，也都必須為政治服務，服從黨的領導。[illegible]的馬列主義相比，毛澤東思想更重視農民的革命屬性，不走蘇聯式以工人[illegible]的城市鬥爭。毛澤東思想以農民為主力發動「人民戰爭」，實行以農村包[illegible]，並據以制定游擊戰的戰術準則。而為了動員農民參軍，[illegible]澤東主張共產[illegible]極下鄉進行農村的「土地改革」，造過階級劃分與群眾鬥爭，[illegible]地主的土地[illegible]農民。

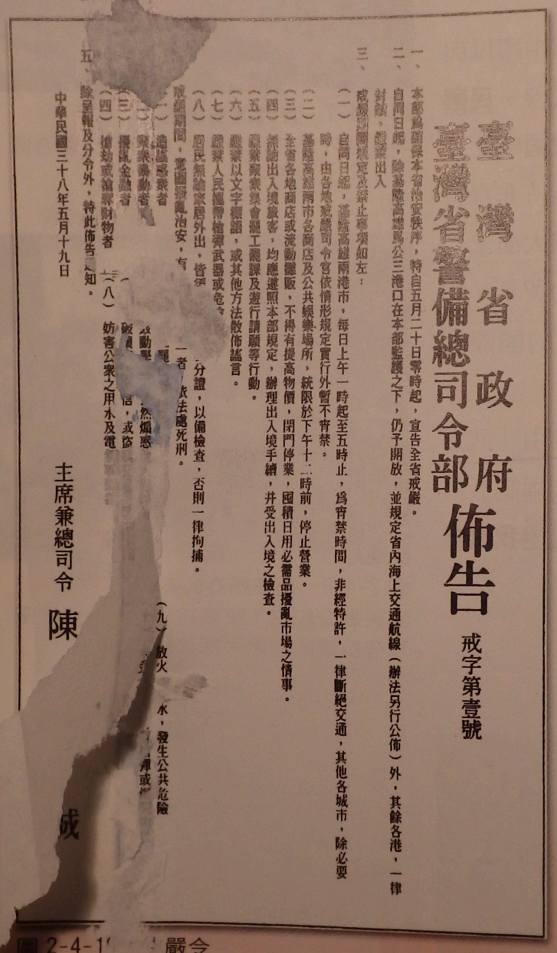
▼圖IV-2-15 中國人民對毛澤東極為崇[illegible]

同時毛澤東思想認為，階級鬥爭在整個社會主義建設過程中是永遠存在的，即使無產階級專政確立，資產階級仍有復辟的可能，而且黨的幹部或領導也有可能成為走資本主義路線的「走[illegible]派」。[illegible]見解下，毛澤東思想固而堅持「不斷革命論」，這使是一九五〇至七〇年代中國政經情勢始終動盪的一大關鍵。

三 政治發展

政府陸續開放縣級以下的行政首長和民意代表由直接選舉產生，逐漸落實地方自治的精神。

民國三十六年底，國民政府開始實施憲政，但次年即因受到國共內戰影響，通過動員戡亂時期臨時條款，凍結部分憲法條文。民國三十八年五月，政府因戰局危急，準備撤退至臺灣，為確保局勢穩定，因此在臺灣頒布戒嚴令，限制集會、結社、出版、言論等憲法保障的基本自由。政府遷臺後，除停止國民大會及立法院等中央民意代表的全面改選外，又多次修訂臨時條款，擴大總統職權。



臺灣省警備總司令部佈告

戒字第壹號

一、本部為加強本省治安秩序，特自五月二十日零時起，宣告全省戒嚴。

二、自同日起，除基隆高雄兩港為公三港口在本部監護之下，仍予開放，並規定省內海上交通航線（辦法另行公佈）外，其餘各港，一律封鎖，船隻出入

三、戒嚴期間共匪煽惑破壞活動，應禁止如左：

（一）自同日起，基隆高雄兩港市，每日上午一時起至五時止，為宵禁時間，非經特許，一律斷絕交通，其他各城市，除必要時，由各地戒嚴司令官依情形規定實行外暫不宵禁。

（二）基隆高雄兩市各商店及公共娛樂場所，統限於下午十二時前，停止營業。

（三）主管各地商店或流動攤販，不得有提高物價，閉門停業，囤積日用必需品擾亂市場之情事。

（四）船舶出入境旅客，均應遵照本部規定，辦理出入境手續，并受出入境之檢查。

（五）漁業漁業團體會員工廠課及遊行請願等行動。

（六）漁業以文字標語，或其他方法散佈謠言。

（七）漁業人民團體擅藏武器或危

（八）戒嚴期間，要圖擾亂治安，有

一者，依法處死刑。

（九）故火

水，發生公共危險

（一）違反戒嚴者

（二）煽惑

（三）破壞

（四）擅

（一八）

妨害公衆之用水及電

五、除呈報及分令外，特此佈告仰知。

中華民國三十八年五月十九日

主席兼總司令 陳

成

圖 2-4-1 嚴令

戒嚴令

限

分證，以備檢查，否則一律拘捕。

章雜誌、圖書；禁止罷市、罷

、扣留

等。

圖 2-4-11 第一屆國大代表

政府遷臺後至民國八十年間，國大代表與立法委員一直未全面改選，因而有「萬年國會」之稱。圖為部分第一屆國

第二節 走[illegible]之[illegible]

課前引導

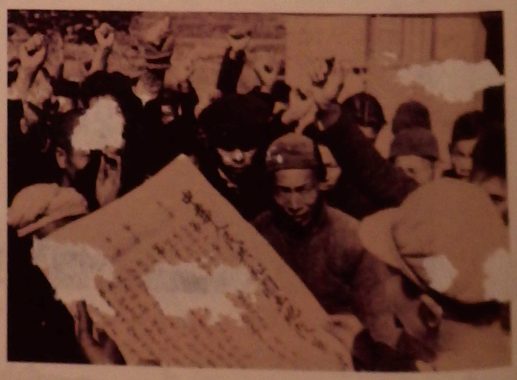
- 不斷的「革命」
  中共建國之初有哪些重要作為？毛澤東為何不斷發起各種運動？1957 年為何是[illegible]大躍進、文革各有何影響？
- [illegible]
  中共的農[illegible]工經濟政策為何[illegible]市人口為何要管制？共產黨的統治為何容易發生腐化？教育方面有何問題？

一 不斷的「革命」

中共建國之初，改[illegible]通[illegible]膨脹、嚴懲貪汙腐化、恢復法律與社會秩序、賦予婦女平等的地位、[illegible]業發展與復興重工業。同時，基於現實的需求，留任許多國民黨各級政府公務人員，以及外國科技人員與外商企業。一時之間，共產主義「新中國」展現出蒸蒸日上的氣象。

農村的土地改革 鄉村和城市的統治策略有所不同。在鄉村地區，地主階級的土地被徵收與重[illegible]分配，土地改革當中，加諸於地主階級的暴力是被據估計 1950 年代遭受鬥爭而死[illegible]地主階級，至少有一百萬人。另外一項解決農村分配不均的重[illegible]步推動農業集體化，將農民編組統一調

圖[illegible]
不已



土地[illegible]獲得農民的擁護

◀圖 6-19 [illegible]運動：大連機車車輛廠職工批判「四人幫」。

▼圖 6-20 1977 年 8 月中共第十一次全國代表大會於北京召開，宣告文化大革[illegible]束。此張流傳的官方照[illegible]示居於中央的鄧小平地位已經提升。

[illegible]建設基本架構。不過，華國鋒的施政堅持遵循毛[illegible]路線，「凡是毛主席作出的決[illegible]我們都堅決維護；凡是毛主席的指示，我們始終不渝地[illegible]。因此，人民公社仍是農村社會的主要組織型態，工[illegible]和企業一樣依政府的經濟計畫運作，主管幹部無須承擔盈虧。任何可能導[illegible]財產或市場經濟的措施，均遭致批判、懲罰。

華國鋒的失政　為了加速提高[illegible]水準，早日趕上歐美國家，華國鋒一味引進外國的設備、技術，蓋了現代化的大[illegible]、交通[illegible]型工廠，但卻沒有考慮到基礎建設（例[illegible]）無法配合，再加上[illegible]、政[illegible]僵化[illegible]員素質太低，問題層出不窮，使得預算一直追加，[illegible]外債，導致巨額的財[illegible]字及[illegible]

▲圖 6-21 延安中[illegible]正騎上刻著「實[illegible]小平以此接續[illegible]統」，擊敗[illegible]是」。

Hsiang-ning Wang
Sunniewang1225@gmail.com

Education

June 2015 (Expected)	M.A. in Chinese Pedagogy Indiana University Bloomington
February 2015	Ph.D. in Education Policy Studies Concentration: International and Comparative Education Minor: Sociology Indiana University Bloomington
May 2005	M.A. in Educational Psychology Indiana University Bloomington
July 1998	B.S. in Nursing National Taiwan University, Taipei, Taiwan

Major Honor and Award

2010 – 2011	Dissertation Writing Grant, Chiang Ching-Kuo Foundation for International Scholarly Exchange, Taiwan
2007 – 2008	Discipline Based Scholarship in Education (DBSE) Associate Fellowship, Indiana University Bloomington, sponsored by Spencer Foundation
2006 – 2008	Taiwanese Outstanding Overseas Scholarship, Ministry of Education, Taiwan
2005 – 2006	Educational Leadership and Policy Studies Fellowship, School of Education, Indiana University Bloomington

Research Experience

June 2013 – June 2014

Research Assistant

Department of East Asian Languages and Cultures, Indiana University Bloomington

- Worked with Professor Charles Lin on Chinese Linguistics processing issues in syntactic theorization

February 2013 – March 2014

Research Assistant

Department of Curriculum and Instruction, Indiana University Bloomington

- Worked with Dr. Adam Maltese on Students' experiences in Science, Technology, Engineering and Mathematics (STEM) in the US and China

August 2008 – July 2009

Independent Researcher

- Worked on the political and cultural identity of Taiwanese youth studying in Mainland China (Shanghai City and Jiansu Province)
- Carried out a one-year ethnographic study by conducting in-depth individual and group interviews, classroom, family and community observations, as well as textbook and document analysis.

September 2004 – May 2008

Research Assistant

Department of Anthropology, Indiana University Bloomington

- Worked with Dr. Sara Friedman on transnational marriages and politics of citizenship in the Greater China

September 2007 – May 2008

Research Assistant

Department of Sociology, Indiana University Bloomington

- Worked with Dr. Donna Eder on children's ethnical development in language discourses
-

August 2005 – March 2006

Graduate Assistant

Department of Educational Policy Studies, Indiana University Bloomington

January 2003 – May 2003

Research Assistant

Department of Education, National Chengchi University

- Worked with Dr. Tung-liao Cheng on the reorganization of school institution in Taiwan

Teaching Experience at Post-Secondary Level

August 2014 – May 2015

Associate Instructor of Chinese, C101 and C102 (First year Chinese)
Indiana University Bloomington

June – July 2014

Associate Instructor of Chinese, C301 and C302 (Third year Chinese)
Flagship Chinese Institute (FCI), Indiana University Bloomington

August 2013 – May 2014

Associate Instructor of Chinese, C201 and C202 (Second year Chinese)
Indiana University Bloomington

August – December 2012

Associate Instructor of Chinese, C201 (Second year Chinese)
Indiana University Bloomington

August 2011 – May 2012

Associate Instructor of Chinese, C457 and C467 (Fifth year Chinese)
Flagship Chinese Center, Indiana University Bloomington

August 2010 – May, 2011

Instructor, U212 Course: Rising Power of Asia and Its Challenge to American Education
School of Education, Indiana University Bloomington

Conference Presentation

May 2013	"The Struggles of Taiwanese Migrant Students with Identities in Citizenship Education in Shanghai, China." Presented at the 2013 Comparative and International Education Society (CIES) Annual Conference. New Orleans, LA.
May 2011	"The comparison of portrayed nation in middle school textbooks in China and Taiwan." Presented at the 2011 Comparative and International Education Society (CIES) Annual Conference. Montreal, Canada.
April 2011	"Taiwanese And/or Chinese?"— Identification Complexity of Taiwanese Transmigrant Youth Studying in China." Presented at the 2011 American Education Research Association (AERA) Annual Meeting. New Orleans, LA.
April 2011	"Schooling and Identity of Taiwanese Adolescents in China-Taiwan Transmigration." Presented at the 2011 The University of Hawai'i School of Pacific and Asian Studies (SPAS) Graduate Student Conference. Honolulu, Hawaii.
March 2010	" 'Does Identity Matter?'— (Re)identification of Taiwanese Transmigrant Adolescents Studying in China." Presented at the 2011 Association of Asian Studies (AAS) Annual Conference. Honolulu, Hawaii.
March 2010	"Cross-strait Identification of Taiwanese Adolescents Studying in Mainland China." Presented at the 2010 Comparative and International Education Society (CIES) Annual Conference. Chicago, IL.
June 2009	"Cultural and Social Adjustment and Identity Exploration of Taiwanese Transmigrant Adolescents in China." Presented at the 7th International Conference on New Direction in the Humanities. Beijing, China.
May 2009	"Influence of Taiwanese Adolescents' Lived Experiences in China on Their Self Identity and Social Belonging." Presented at the 2009 Asian-Pacific Forum on Sociology of Education. Tainan, Taiwan.
June 2008	"Transnational Identification of Taiwanese Adolescents Studying in Taiwanese Migrant Schools in China." Presenter at the 14th Annual

	North American Taiwan Studies Conference. Seattle, WA.
May 2008	" 'I Live in Two Places'— Transmigrant Experiences of Taiwanese Children in China." Presented at the 10th Overseas Young Chinese Forum. Atherton, CA.
March 2008	"Travel between Two Homes in Two Worlds in One Day: Development of Taiwanese Adolescents' Transnational Identity." Presented at 2008 Comparative and International Education Society (CIES) Annual Conference. New York.
March 2007	"The School Fence as Boundary Between Two Nations? — Taiwanese Migrants' Schools in Mainland China." Presented at 2007 Comparative and International Education Society (CIES) Annual Conference. Baltimore, MA.
October 2006	Discussant, Northwest East Asian Education Network Doctoral Dissertation Workshop. Champaign, IL.

Reference

Dr. Heidi Ross
Professor
Educational Policy Studies
Director
East Asian Studies Center
201 W. Memorial Hall
Bloomington, IN, 47405
Phone: (812) 856-8389
Email: haross@indiana.edu

Dr. Sara Friedman
Associate Professor
Department of Anthropology
701 E. Kirkwood Avenue
Student Building 130
Bloomington, IN, 47405
Phone: (812) 856-4595
Email: slfriedm@indiana.edu

Dr. Chien-Jer Charles Lin
Assistant Professor
Department of East Asian
Languages and Cultures
1011 E. Third Street
Goodbody Hall 221
Bloomington, IN, 47405
Phone: (812) 855-5180
Email: chiclin@indiana.edu